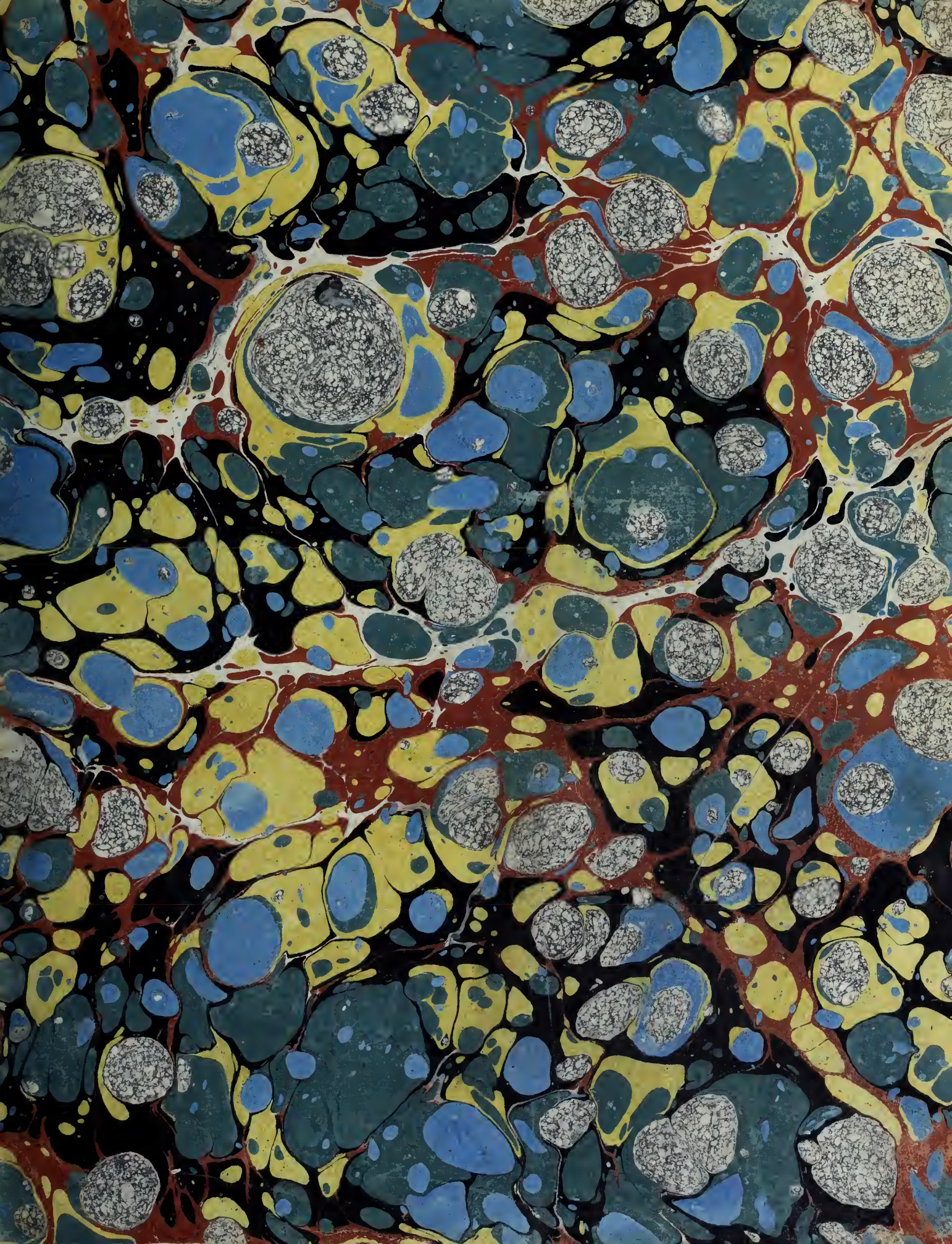






Archibald Earl of Eglinton.



21

1892

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M E M O I R S

OF

HORATIO, LORD WALPOLE.



Harding del

Engraver

I am wth yr

greater sincerity & affection

Y^r de Walpole

HORATIO LORD WALPOLE

from an original by Vanloo at Strawberry Hill

MEMOIRS
OF
HORATIO, LORD WALPOLE.

SELECTED FROM

HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS,

AND CONNECTED WITH

THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES,

FROM 1678 TO 1757.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS.

By WILLIAM COXE, M. A. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

LONDON,

Printed, at the ORIENTAL PRESS, by Wilson & Co.

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1802.

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*Written by the AUTHOR of these MEMOIRS, and published by T. CADELL, jun.
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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HORATIO,
BARON WALPOLE of WALPOLE,
AND
BARON WALPOLE of WOLTERTON.

MY LORD,

THESE Memoirs of your illustrious Father, being principally drawn from his Papers and Correspondence, which your Lordship communicated to me without the smallest controul; I feel the highest satisfaction in presenting them to the Public under the sanction of your Lordship's name, both as a proof of their authenticity, and as a testimony of gratitude for many acts of kindness and confidence.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your much obliged, and

obedient, humble Servant,

WILLIAM COXE.

BEMERTON,
February 1, 1802.

P R E F A C E.

HAVING obtained access to the Papers and Correspondence of Horatio, Lord Walpole, which are preserved at Wolterton, I found them so interesting and important, that I purposed to print a Selection, preceded by a brief Narrative of his Life. I accordingly commenced the impression; but was induced to postpone the publication, for reasons which are given in the Preface to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole. In that work, however, I inserted numerous letters of Lord Walpole, and drew materials from those documents among his Papers which tended to elucidate his brother's administration.

From an early period of his life, Lord Walpole was engaged in a public capacity. In 1706, he accompanied General Stanhope to Barcelona as Private Secretary, and was employed in various missions of consequence. In 1707, he was appointed Secretary to Mr. Boyle, first as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards as Secretary of State; and, in 1709, accompanied the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townshend, who were Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Gertruydenberg. Soon after the accession of George the First, he was successively Under Secretary of State, Secretary to the Treasury, and Envoy at the Hague, until the schism of the Whig Ministry, which terminated in the resignations of Lord Townshend and his brother, as well as his own.

In 1720 he became Secretary to the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; was re-appointed Secretary to the Treasury, and again deputed to the Hague.

In 1723 he commenced his Embassy to Paris; and continued to fill that important station until 1730. In 1733 he was nominated Ambassador to the States General, and remained at the Hague until 1739, when he returned to England.

During the whole period of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, Lord Walpole was an able and useful coadjutor to his brother, both in and out of Parliament ; and was consulted in all business of State, particularly foreign transactions. During his residence abroad, besides official dispatches, he maintained a private intercourse of letters with his brother, and even a confidential correspondence with Queen Caroline, who reposed the fullest reliance on his talents and integrity.

Although, from the time of his brother's resignation, he filled no official station ; yet, in consequence of his abilities, experience, and weight among his party, he retained a considerable influence over many of the Ministers ; he was confidentially consulted by Mr. Pelham and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and often gave his opinion in the most frank and unreserved manner to the Duke of Newcastle, to the Duke of Cumberland, and even to the King.

The importance of his Correspondence and Papers will fully appear from this Sketch of his Life ; and it would be difficult to point out another character, who, for so long a period, was more trusted with the secrets of government, more acquainted with the motives and springs of action, and who possessed more influence in the direction of foreign and domestic affairs.

I should have derived extreme satisfaction from the accomplishment of my original design ; but as the Selection could not be comprised in less than three quarto volumes, I could not venture to engage in so extensive a publication, consisting principally of State-papers, which, I had no reason to believe, would have a sale sufficient to repay the necessary expences. I therefore altered my original plan ; and now submit to the public, Memoirs of Lord Walpole, interspersed with extracts from his Papers and Correspondence, and connected with the History of the Times.

These important documents fill one hundred and sixty large volumes or port-folios. They comprise,

I. Mr. Walpole's correspondence with George the Second, Queen Caroline, and the other branches of the Royal Family, at different periods of his life.

II. His official and private correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole, the Secretaries of State and Foreign Ministers, from the commencement of his political career, to the resignation of his brother.

III. Letters of the most private and interesting nature, which passed between Mr. Walpole, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Trevor, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, the Hon. Philip Yorke, late Earl of Hardwicke, and others, from the period of Sir Robert Walpole's resignation to his own death.

IV. A numerous collection of Deductions, Memorials, Projects, and Observations, on a variety of political subjects; together with the draughts of several speeches in Parliament.

V. Mr. Walpole's Apology. This authentic document, written by himself towards the latter end of his life, and still preserved in his own hand-writing, contains a candid and lively narrative of his transactions from 1715 to 1739.

Among

Among these articles I have principally availed myself,

1. Of his Apology, the greater part of which is printed in these Memoirs.

2. Of his extensive Correspondence during his Embassy at Paris.

3. Of that part of his Correspondence with Queen Caroline, and the other branches of the Royal Family, which was not printed in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, particularly his interesting letters to the Duke of Cumberland in 1746 and 1747.

4. His Miscellaneous Correspondence, from 1742 to 1757.

5. Thoughts on the Utility of an Alliance with Prussia, occasioned by the approaching death of the King, 1740.—Project of a Grand Alliance, founded upon a good understanding between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, Oct. 5, 1740.—Rhapsody of Foreign Politics, occasioned by the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and that with Spain in 1750; and other documents, which are referred to in the course of the narrative.

6. The substance of a Speech on the question for continuing the Hanover troops in the pay of Great Britain, 1743.—Substance of a Speech in the Committee of Supply, on the demand of the Empress-Queen for £.100,000, 1749.—Mr. Walpole's Speech in a Committee of the whole House, upon a motion that a sum not exceeding £.32,000 be granted to his Majesty, to make good his engagements with the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, by treaty, 1752.

In addition to these sources of information, I have had recourse to the various other documents enumerated in the Preface to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, particularly the Orford, Waldegrave, Grantham, Harrington, Melcombe and Keene Papers.

The Hardwicke Papers supplied me with a series of confidential letters between the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Walpole, Lord Chancellor

cellor Hardwicke, and his son the Hon. Philip Yorke, late Earl of Hardwicke. I have also derived considerable information from a Parliamentary Journal written by the late Earl, which contains an account of the Debates during the Session of 1744 and 1745; and details many interesting particulars concerning the dismissal of Lord Granville and the formation of the Broad-bottom Ministry.

I have availed myself of the Correspondence between Lord Walpole and Mr. Etough, in the Etough Papers; and particularly of a Narrative drawn up by Mr. Etough, entitled, "Minutes of Memorable Conversations with the late Lord Walpole, Baron of Wolterton, with Remarks on his character and conduct."

I am considerably indebted to Lord Viscount Hampden, for access to the Papers of his Noble Father, who was the confidential Friend of Lord Walpole, Secretary to the Embassy, and afterwards Envoy and Plenipotentiary at the Hague. This collection contains numerous letters from Lord Walpole, which form an interesting addition to the narrative.

From the Papers of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, preserved at Pont-y-Pool Park, communicated by the kindness of Capel Hanbury Leigh, Esquire, I derived many curious anecdotes; and have been enabled to give to the Public some interesting letters of Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.

The principal documents from which I have compiled these Memoirs, being in manuscript, I have had little occasion to draw my materials from printed narratives; but I have not omitted to cite those authors on whose testimony I have advanced any material fact.

During the æra of the Walpole administration, I have avoided, as much as possible, a repetition of the same events and reflections
which

which occur in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole; but have principally confined myself to those foreign transactions and domestic incidents, which did not fall within the plan of that work, or tended to illustrate the conduct and character of Lord Walpole.

From the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, I have expatiated more largely on the History of the Times. I have attempted to develop the characters and administrations of Lord Granville, Mr. Pelham, and the Duke of Newcastle; to sketch the state of parties, particularly the contests for power between Lord Granville and the Pelhams, and between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; and to form a connected narrative of political transactions, from 1742, to the death of Lord Walpole in 1757. With this view, besides the Correspondence of Lord Walpole, I have introduced various letters from the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Fox.

I therefore hope that this Work, which may be considered as a companion and supplement to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, will not only place the talents, character and services of Lord Walpole in a new point of view, but will throw additional light on a period of English History, of which we have few authentic documents.

The PLATES in this Work are all taken from Portraits, many of which have never been engraven; and for which I beg leave to return my thanks to the possessors of the originals, Lord Walpole, and Marquis Townshend; the Earls of Hardwicke, Cholmondeley, and Chichester; the Countess of Waldegrave, the Hon. Mrs. Damer, and the Hon. Miss Robinson; Cresset Pelham, Esq. and Capel Hanbury Leigh, Esq.

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ERRATA.

- Page 9, line 11, for *there ward*, read *the reward*.
 11, l. 25, for *to whom* read *to which*.
 27, l. 19, read *to the Whigs*.
 40, l. 12 of the Note, for *Mrs. Bebu* read *Mrs. Bebn*.
 47, for *Prie* read *Prie*, as also wherever the name afterwards occurs.
Ibid. last line but three of the Note, read "*fanfaron plein de coeur*."
 51, l. 11, for *instantly* read *gradually*.
 60, head of the chapter, line 4, after *restoration* add *prevented*.
 64, l. 8 from bottom, for *review* read *revive*.
 92, l. 19 for *majesty's* read *majesty*.
 138, l. 7 from bottom, for *Pam* read *Palm*.
 208, last line, dele *for*.
 218, l. 2, for *would renew* read *to renew*.
 225 to 247. Chapters 24, 25 and 26, in the running title, should be 22, 23 and 24.
 237, l. 19, for *vices* read *news*.
 242, the letter dated October 21, 1740, should be placed in the preceding chapter.
 256, l. 15, for *a question* read *the question*.
 264, l. 20, after Flanders a *semi-colon*.
 293, line last but one, for *Winnington* read *Wilmington*.
 266, line 13, for *this division* read *this diversion*.
 295, last line of the first column of the note, for *descended* read *were left*.
 303, l. 19, for *point* read *fault*.
 346, l. 8, after *servant* a *comma*.
 367, l. 1, for *establishment* read *established*.
 398, last line, for *not promising* read *for promising not*.
 436, l. 1, for *which the* read *made by the*.



SIR EDWARD WALPOLE

From an original at Strawberry Hill

MEMOIRS
OF
LORD WALPOLE.

CHAPTER 1.

1678—1714.

Family—Birth—Education—Commences the Study of the Law—Accompanies General Stanhope to Spain—Relief of Barcelona—Anecdote of the Archduke Charles—Becomes Secretary to Mr. Boyle—Secretary to Lord Townshend and the Duke of Marlborough at the Congress of Gertruydenberg—Retires on the Dismission of the Whig Ministry—Takes his Seat in Parliament—Supports the Whigs.

HORATIO, brother of Sir Robert Walpole, was born at Houghton, in Norfolk, on the 8th of December 1678.

His grandfather, Sir Edward Walpole, received the Order of the Bath as a recompense for his zeal in promoting the cause of the Restoration; and was distinguished for his eloquence in parliament, where he sat as member for Lynn Regis until his death, which happened in 1667. He married Susan, second daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Crane, bart. of Chilton, in the county of Sussex.

Robert Walpole, eldest son and heir of Sir Edward, resided at Houghton in Norfolk, which had long been the family seat; was an active country gentleman, and zealous partisan of the Revolution, and promoted the cause of the Whigs as member of parliament for the borough

of Castle Rising, in the county of Norfolk. He possessed considerable landed property, which he improved by his attention to agriculture, and, notwithstanding the largeness of his family, left an estate between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* a year to his eldest son. He was a man of high honour and integrity. From motives of extreme delicacy, he invariably refused his consent to the marriage of his daughter Dorothy with Charles lord viscount Townshend, to whom he was left guardian by his friend Horatio, first viscount Townshend*, lest he should be suspected of forming a match so advantageous to his family by improper means. He was much devoted to a country life, extremely hospitable, and of a convivial temper. By his wife, Mary, only daughter and heiress of Sir Jeffery Burwel, of Rougham, in Suffolk, he had nineteen children, of whom only six survived him. He died in 1700, aged 50, and was interred in the parish-church of Houghton.

Horatio, or, as he is more generally called, Horace, his second surviving son, was educated on the foundation at Eton school, and in 1698 admitted a scholar of King's College in the university of Cambridge†. Both at Eton and at College he prosecuted his studies with unwearied diligence, and afforded early proofs of that indefatigable application which distinguished him through life. He acquired a high degree of classical knowledge, and gave, both in his early and later years, many specimens of his taste in Latin composition.

Descended from a family distinguished by their attachment to the Whigs, he adopted the principles of that party; and as the provost and most of the fellows were Tories, he employed his wit, of which he possessed

* Horatio, first viscount Townshend, descended from an antient family in Norfolk, who trace their lineage beyond the Conquest, was eldest surviving son of Sir Roger Townshend, who was created a baronet in 1617, and built the mansion-house of Rainham. He represented the county of Norfolk in parliament, and died in 1636. Horatio Townshend was born in 1530, and during the civil wars greatly distinguished himself by his prudent and spirited conduct. In the times of confusion which suc-

ceeded the death of Cromwell, he was among the foremost who contributed to the restoration of monarchy, and, for his essential services, was created baron Townshend of Lynn Regis, and lord lieutenant of the county of Norfolk.

In 1682 he was advanced to the title of viscount Townshend of Rainham, and died in 1687, leaving his eldest son Charles heir to his title and estate, in the fourteenth year of his age.

† Register of Eton College.



Publ Feb 1 1601 by the Rev. W Gore London

ROBERT WALPOLE FATHER of LORD WALPOLE
from an Original at Wolterton



*yr true affectionate
Mother M Walpole*

MARY BURWELL WIFE of ROBERT WALPOLE

From an original at Wolterton

essed a great share, in throwing ridicule on the Tories and Jacobites, and, as he always frankly avowed his sentiments, was marked out as a formidable partisan of the Whig principles.

In a letter to his brother, dated May 9, he expressed his regret at the death of king William, and his enthusiasm for the character of that great monarch. It being the custom in the universities to write copies of verses, either of condolance or congratulation on the death or accession of the sovereign, a selection is always made of such as are esteemed most worthy of publication. Those composed by Mr. Walpole obtained a place in this selection*, and, in allusion to them, he makes the following observations: "I sent you yesterday the verses, and I hope you will pardon the meanness of a certain person's, whose, I'll be bold to say, would have been the first in the book, could his ingenuity have equalled the deserts of that great man, or his poetry the inclination of, in this case, as in all other things, yours most affectionately."

In May 1702 he was chosen fellow of King's College†, and, being at liberty to retire from the university, he purposed following the profession of the Law. But as his fortune was only 1500*l.* and he had numerous acquaintance among persons of the first rank, he opened his mind to his brother; expressed his regret at quitting the university, where he had reaped so much pleasure and profit, and his anxiety at launching into a scene of life incompatible with his income.

"Dearest Brother,

King's, Nov. 24, 1702.

"When I begin to consider, (and I think it is high time now,) where I am, and what I am about, I find myselfe very easie in a college life; in the constant enjoyment of the best company, both within and without doors, whether I converse with the living or the dead, I can't forbear thinking this is the best part of my life, while my diligence and study on one side bears proportion with my pleasure and diversion on the other. But when I look a little forwards, and one would think with a great deal of joy and satisfaction too, to have the noble prospect of London and the Law, those two spacious fields of pleasure and of profit, I can't forbear being somewhat uneasy to think how willing I am to step forwards, and how
unable

* *Luſtus Cantabrigienſes: At non præcipitis fati ludibria flemus, &c.*

† Register of King's College.

unable my legs are to carry me. Were my outward circumstances proportionable to my inward, or would my fortune and pocket, requisite to live at London, answer my earnest inclination of sticking to the Law, I should think no body happier than myself, while I have so many so nigh related to me, as well by kindness as by blood, among the chiefest of whom gratitude and thanks oblige me to rank yourself, both for your past as well as your present promises of your future love and affection."

In this state of uncertainty he was induced to entertain thoughts of going into the Army. During his continuance at college he had formed an intimate acquaintance with the marquis of Blandford, only son of John duke of Marlborough, who was admitted as a nobleman of King's College, to complete his education. The young marquis conceived a high esteem for Mr. Walpole, and engaged his acceptance of a commission in a regiment to which he soon expected to be appointed. But his hopes of military promotion were frustrated by the premature death of the marquis, who died of the small-pox on the 20th of February 1703, and was buried in King's College chapel. "Mr. Walpole," according to the expressions of Etough, "deplored this sad event, not only as the greatest loss to himself, but to the public. His qualities were represented as singularly excellent and amiable*."

On this disappointment he entertained hopes of procuring, through the recommendation of his brother, an office in the Exchequer, from lord Halifax, who was auditor; or a small place at Court, through the interest of his uncle Horatio, who married lady Anne Osborne, daughter of Thomas duke of Leeds, and widow of Thomas Coke, esq. of Holkham in Norfolk. In conformity, however, with his first resolution, he took chambers at Lincoln's Inn, and commenced the study of the Law; but in 1705 relinquished the profession, on being appointed secretary to brigadier-general Stanhope, envoy and plenipotentiary to the archduke Charles, son of the emperor Leopold, and acknowledged king of Spain by the allied powers.

General Stanhope had acquired great reputation at the capture of Barcelona in 1704, which surrendered to the allied forces under the command of the eccentric and gallant earl of Peterborough. Charles was
joyfully

* Etough's Minutes of Memorable Conversations with Lord Walpole.

joyfully proclaimed king by the inhabitants of Barcelona, and this conquest was followed by the reduction of all Catalonia. Mr. Stanhope repaired to England with an account of this transaction, and returned in 1705, as envoy and plenipotentiary, with a large force for the relief of Barcelona, which was, in the interim, besieged by Philip the Fifth in person, and reduced to the greatest extremity.

Mr. Walpole sailed from Plymouth, in his new capacity, in March 1706. After touching at Lisbon and Gibraltar, and receiving great additional force by the accession of the Dutch, and by the junction of Sir George Byng, and Sir John Jennings, the fleet appeared off Barcelona at a critical moment. The town had been besieged thirty-five days, by the united forces of France and Spain under the command of Noailles, and encouraged by the presence of Philip; the fort of Montjoy was captured, the approaches pushed to the covert way, and two breaches made in the walls. The harbour was likewise blockaded by the french fleet, and Charles expected every moment to fall into the hands of the enemy. In this perilous situation, though earnestly advised by his friends to escape, he refused to quit his capital, exposed himself to the greatest danger, worked with his family in forming an entrenchment behind the breach, and, by his example, animated the besieged to make an almost unparalleled resistance.

Notwithstanding these united exertions, a general assault was hourly expected, when the combined squadron arrived. The troops were instantly landed, and passed great part of the night under arms behind the breach. On the 11th, at night, the whole french army retreated with precipitation, leaving their sick and wounded, great part of their artillery, and immense magazines and stores.

Mr. Walpole concludes his account of this fortunate event by saying, " Their march was overcast this morning with the darkest eclipse of the sun as almost ever was seen; by which the superstitious here portend the eternal setting of the Bourbon sun."

He also highly praises the prudent and manly conduct of the archduke Charles; but gives a curious instance of Austrian superstition and phlegm. " This slow court (he says) has at last determined to set out for Valentia, having spent a great deal of time in unnecessary ceremonies, with

thanks to the Holy Virgin and St. Antonio; and now they must not omit, though much out of their way, the solemnity of going to Montseratt. The king sets out this afternoon, which being two days later than he had fixt for his departure, excused himself to Mr. Stanhope, (who has always been pressing him to lose no time,) and said he stay'd for his equipage. My master told him, the prince of Orange entered London in a coach and four, with a cloak-bag behind it, and was made king not many weeks after*."

Mr. Walpole discharged the office of secretary to general Stanhope with diligence and fidelity; and was employed in several delicate commissions, which he executed with great address. Being dispatched to England, in a frigate of 20 guns, he passed near the english squadron, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, which blockaded the harbour of Toulon, then besieged by the united forces of the emperor and the duke of Savoy. He paid a visit to the admiral the day after he had entertained prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, and received several anecdotes of their behaviour and conferences. Among others, he used to relate an observation of Sir Cloudesley Shovel; "The duke of Savoy is heartily and sincerely for the success of the undertaking, but the disposition of the prince is the reverse; and, Horace, Toulon will not be taken:" the event justified his assertions.

About this period Mr. Walpole was appointed exempt in the guards, by his friend lord Townshend, captain of the yeomen, and did not long continue in Spain; for in 1707 we find him private secretary to Mr. Boyle†, (with whom he had formed an intimate acquaintance at Cambridge,) first as chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards as secretary of State. Though a man of sound sense, and not deficient in parliamentary abilities, Mr. Boyle was of a convivial and indolent disposition; hence the assistance of Mr. Walpole was peculiarly acceptable, from his indefatigable application and facility in transacting business.

Mr. Walpole continued in this situation until the beginning of 1709, when he became secretary to lord Townshend, who was appointed joint plenipo-

* May 16, and June 23, 1706. Walpole Pa- son of Richard earl of Burlington, and third
pers. son of Charles viscount Dungarvon in Ireland.

† Afterwards lord Carleton. He was grand- See Collins's and Lodge's Peerage.

plenipotentiary with the duke of Marlborough to the congress at Gertruydenburgh. His indefatigable attention, sound judgment, and cheerful disposition, endeared him to these two noble persons; and the few letters in this collection, which still remain, prove the high estimation and confidence with which they treated their private secretary. In one of his letters, dated Hague, Nov. 29, 1709, lord Townshend thus addresses him with the affection of a friend:

“ I am very much obliged to you for the favour of yours, which brought the good news of your safe arrival in London. You will easily believe I am under a great deal of concern, upon account of the difficulties the treaty for the barrier has met with in England, which has not a little increased the fits of spleen for which you have so often laughed at me. As to our evenings, you will easily believe we are in a very melancholy way of passing them at present; and you can make no reparation for leaving us, unless it be by returning as soon as you can get leave.”

Mr. Walpole did not remain long in England, but rejoined lord Townshend at the Hague, and continued with him until his return. During this period he bore a share in the confidential correspondence between his brother, the duke of Marlborough, and lord Townshend, relating to the intrigues which preceded the change of administration; and a few of his letters, on this occasion, are published in the *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*.

On the removal of Sunderland, he warmly opposed all compromise with Harley and the Tories, and supported the necessity of a fair and unanimous conduct on the side of the Whigs. From the resignation of lord Townshend, which appeared in the *Gazette* of March 17, 1711, to the accession of George the First, Mr. Walpole, who remained firm to his party, had no public office, but promoted, as far as his situation and abilities permitted, the succession of the Protestant line*.

His name, in conjunction with lord Pelham, afterwards duke of Newcastle, Addison, Pulteney, Methuen, Craggs, and many others remarkable for their attachment to the principles of the Revolution, is found among the members of the Hanover club. Oldmixon, the factious partisan of the Whigs, records an instance of the zeal with which the

* See Correspondence to the *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole*, vol. 2, p. 26, 30, 32.

the club testified their abhorrence of the Stuart line: "The loyal Hanover club took the occasion of the queen's birth-day, February 6th, 1713, to signalize their zeal and affection to the Protestant succession, by causing the effigies of the devil, the pope, and the pretender, to be carried, in solemn procession, from Charing Cross to the Royal Exchange, and so back to Charing Cross, where they were burnt*."

In 1713 he obtained a seat in the new parliament, and seconded his brother in favour of the french refugees, and against the expulsion of Steele. He also opposed the treaty of Utrecht, and in his *Rhapsody of Foreign Politics*, probably the last essay which he ever committed to writing, at an advanced period of his life, he strongly and justly condemns the principles of that treaty:

"After a series of wonderful successes for ten years, obtained by us, jointly with our allies, against the common enemy, we made an unequal and very disadvantageous treaty of commerce with France. Our ancient privileges of trade to Old Spain were explained away by a treaty of commerce with that crown; by our separate treaties of peace, we sacrificed and abandoned, in violation of all good faith, the interest of our allies; and particularly, our solemn engagements with the king of Portugal, (who had exposed himself to the vengeance of France and Spain, by deserting them to come into the grand alliance, and who, at the same time, had made a treaty with us, very beneficial to the trade of this country,) were broken, to oblige Spain; the security of the Netherlands, and of this nation, as well as the settlement of the Hanover succession, (which, in consequence, was afterwards attempted to be subverted,) was left upon a very loose and precarious foot, by a new treaty of barrier and succession."

* Oldmixon's History of England, p. 536.



*Dear Sirs most affectionately
Gonnshead*

CHARLES FIRST VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND

From the Collection at Rainham

CHAPTER 2.

1714—1722.

Zeal of Mr. Walpole in Support of the House of Brunswick—Appointed successively Under Secretary of State, and Secretary to the Treasury—First and Second Mission to the Hague—Account of the Government of the United Provinces—Mr. Walpole's Journey to Hanover—Change of Ministry, and Resignation of Mr. Walpole—His Conduct in Opposition—Again comes into office—Third Mission to the Hague.

ON the accession of George the First, Mr. Walpole signalised his zeal for the house of Brunswick, by moving for the payment of the arrears due to the Hanover troops, and for there ward of 100,000l. to any person who should apprehend the pretender, should he attempt to land in any part of the king's dominions.

He now obtained the reward of his attachment to the Whigs, and was nominated under secretary of state by Charles lord viscount Townshend, to whom the arrangement of the new administration was principally committed. The friendship of that nobleman for Mr. Walpole, which commenced at an early period, had been recently strengthened by his marriage with Dorothy Walpole, whom he espoused in 1713, two years after the death of his first wife, lady Catharine Holles; but on his brother's appointment to the place of first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1715, Mr. Walpole was nominated under secretary to the Treasury.

In 1715, the kingdom being menaced with an invasion in favour of the pretender, Mr. Walpole was deputed to the Hague to concur with general Cadogan, the british envoy and plenipotentiary, in an application to the States General for the immediate succour of 6000 men. He was selected for this delicate trust in consequence of his conciliating disposition and intimacy with the leading men of the republic, which he had acquired during frequent missions to the Hague; and his conduct did not belie the expectations of his friends.

General Cadogan being at Antwerp, Mr. Walpole, on his arrival at the Hague, instantly presented a memorial to the States General, and prevailed

on them to grant the succours required without referring to their respective provinces, according to the usual forms of the government; by which means the troops were ordered before the french ambassador was acquainted with the demand.

His success in this important negotiation occasioned his second mission to the Hague in 1716, as joint envoy and plenipotentiary with general Cadogan, for the purpose of obtaining the junction of a dutch squadron to protect the Baltic trade against the depredations of the Swedes. Though this measure was opposed by some of the states as a Hanoverian project for the security of Bremen and Verden, the address and influence of Mr. Walpole triumphed over all opposition.

He was no less successful in obtaining the accession of the States General to a defensive treaty with Great Britain and the Emperor. In effecting this alliance he counteracted the intrigues, overbore the arguments of Chateauncuf the french ambassador, and roused the supine and temporising spirit of the Dutch. But he succeeded in the still more difficult task of extorting their consent to the triple alliance with England and France, for securing, by reciprocal guaranties, the establishment of the Protestant succession in England; of the reversion of the crowns of France and Spain, as settled by the treaty of Utrecht, and the demolition of the port of Mardyke. The rapid conclusion of this treaty, in spite of the supineness and prejudices of the Dutch, and the delays of their complicated form of government, was a master-piece of policy and address.

Although general Cadogan was joined in full powers to negotiate this treaty, and although Mr. Walpole, from motives of delicacy, declined the signature; yet he was principally instrumental in bringing it to a conclusion. Cadogan was well skilled in military affairs, but in negotiations acted more like a general than a minister. He was impetuous, and impatient of opposition, lavish in his promises to remove a present difficulty, "and thought," as Mr. Walpole expresses himself, "that the pen and the sword were to be wielded with the same fierceness." In allusion to his impetuosity, pensionary Heinsius used to say emphatically, that Cadogan was an excellent general of an army; meaning that he was an indifferent negotiator; and he paid a due compliment to the conciliating temper of Mr. Walpole, by adding, "that unless he had been employed, the

negotiation would never have succeeded." Even George the First, who was dry, and sparing of compliments, laconically observed to him, "*Vous avez beaucoup d'amis en Hollande, et vous m'avez rendu bien des services*.*"

His valuable services in these, as well as in the complicated negotiations which followed, will be best appreciated by tracing a sketch of the government and situation of the Dutch at this period.

Of all the constitutions formed by statesmen, or described by historians, none was more complicated and embarrassed than that of the seven † united provinces. In fact, and strictly speaking, the seven provinces did not form one republic, but rather seven confederate republics; nor did each province form one commonwealth, but rather a confederacy of such orders, cities and towns, as enjoyed the right of sending deputies to the provincial states. And even these provincial states were only the representatives of the sovereign power, which resided in the municipal corporations of the towns, and in the orders of nobles and clergy, who conjointly nominated those representatives.

For the bond and union of the confederacy the states of each province elected a certain ‡ number of deputies, who formed the supreme assembly called the States General, from which all military men were excluded. Although the States General represented the sovereign power, were dignified with the title of High Mightinesses, and transacted the principal business of the republic; yet they did not, like the parliament of Great Britain, or the diet of Sweden, possess the supreme authority. They could not enact laws, declare war, make peace, impose taxes, form alliances, and raise troops, without the consent of the respective provinces, to whom they referred all objects of importance.

This assembly was a permanent body, resident at the Hague, and met every day, except Saturday and Sunday. Each province presided in turn during a week, and the first in rank among the deputies of the province enjoyed that honour. The president received all letters and memorials
from

* Mr. Walpole's Apology.

yssel. 7. Groningen and Ommelanden.

† 1. Guelderland and Zutphen. 2. Holland. ‡ The number was unlimited, yet each province
3. Zealand. 4. Utrecht. 5. Friesland. 6. Over- had only a single vote.

from the ambassadors of the republic, and from foreign ambassadors resident at the Hague, caused them to be read by the greffier, proposed the subjects of deliberation, and collected and declared the suffrages.

The greffier, or secretary, was the chief minister of the States General: he, or his deputy, was always present, and sat, like the clerk of the house of commons, at the table during the debates; he drew up and recorded the resolutions, composed and dispatched instructions to the ministers abroad, and the letters to foreign powers. He was present at the conferences with foreign ministers, and on that occasion had a vote. M. Fagel filled this high office at this period, a man of mild temper, conciliating manners, sound sense, great application, and warmly attached to the union with England.

The grand pensionary of Holland was the most important office nominated by the provincial states. He was one of the municipal members, and represented Holland in the States General; he was always present at their deliberations, and proposed all things which related to that province; he was commissioned to watch over the constitutional laws of the confederacy, and directed the meeting of the counsellors deputies with only a deliberative voice. In the provincial assembly of the States of Holland he proposed, collected the votes, registered the resolutions, and maintained a correspondence with foreign ministers. He had a considerable influence in the republic of the united provinces, from the preponderance which Holland enjoyed in the general affairs. The celebrated Heinsius, whose character is too well known to require an eulogium, was pensionary at this time.

Holland, which paid more than half of the public burdens, had the greatest influence in the States General; and the city of Amsterdam, which paid one third of the taxes of Holland, had no less influence over that province.

Few words are wanting to describe the natural imbecility of so complex a government, weak in its efforts, uncertain in its direction, and dilatory in its proceedings; neither fit for war, nor capable of maintaining itself in peace. The defects of this “many-headed headless government,” as it is justly styled by Mr. Walpole, “containing as many masters as minds,” could only be duly modified and corrected by the office of
 Stadholder,

Stadholder, or captain and admiral-general of the union, vested with considerable prerogatives, which, since the revolution that gave rise to the republic, had been uniformly conferred on the princes of the house of Orange. At that period five of the seven provinces, namely Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland and Overijssel, elected William the first prince of Orange; and the two remaining provinces of Friesland and Groningen chose his cousin John, count of Nassau Dillenburgh. The stadholdership of the five provinces was continued in the descendants of William, namely, Maurice, Henry Frederick, and William the Second. On his death, in 1650, it was abolished by the republican party; but, on the invasion of Holland by Louis the XIVth, was restored to his son William, prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, and declared hereditary in his male line. William dying without issue, the office was again abolished; but his cousin and heir John William Frederick, count of Nassau Dietz, became prince of Orange, and was stadholder of Friesland by hereditary descent, and of Groningen by election. Being drowned in crossing the Mardyke, July 14, 1711, the stadholdership of Groningen was abolished, and his posthumous son William, now a minor, who succeeded to his dignities and estates, was only hereditary stadholder of Friesland. During his minority the Orange party was directed by his mother Maria Louisa, daughter of Charles, landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

During the course of the negotiation for the conclusion of the triple alliance, Mr. Walpole gave the most solemn assurances to the states, that no treaty should be concluded with France without their participation. But the impatience of the king to secure the guaranty of France, ill according with the dilatoriness of the dutch government, a separate treaty was arranged between the abbot du Bois and secretary Stanhope at Hanover, and full powers were forwarded to general Cadogan and Mr. Walpole to sign it in conjunction with du Bois. Mr. Walpole declined signing a treaty in contradiction to his solemn asseverations, requested instant permission to return to England, and, in a letter to secretary Stanhope, expressed the agony under which he laboured. "Having plighted to the states my faith, my honour, and my conscience, in his majesty's name, that nothing of this nature should be done, if I should afterwards sign with the abbé, in violation of these sacred and solemn assurances,

assurances, which I repeated but last Tuesday in a conference, I should never be able to shew my ignominious head here again. And therefore. I plainly see that this business, in which I thought I should have some share of credit, will end in my ruin ; because, although I shall ever think it the last misfortune to disobey so good and gracious a sovereign ; yet I must freely confess I had rather starve, nay die, than do a thing that gives such a terrible wound to my honour and conscience, and will make me for ever incapable of serving the king any more, especially in this place, where I have at present some little credit and interest*.”

He made as strong remonstrances to lord Townshend and his brother ; and, after much difficulty, obtained the king's permission to return to England, and commit the signature of the treaty to general Cadogan.

On his arrival in London, Mr. Walpole found the ministry, who, under the prince of Wales, directed the administration of affairs during the absence of the king, in a state of extreme embarrassment. Letters from the king, secretary Stanhope, and lord Sunderland, had been just received from Hanover, reproaching the ministry in general for their opposition to the king's continental politics, accusing lord Townshend with protracting the signature of the triple alliance, and Walpole of declining to replace the money advanced for the payment of the troops of Munster and Saxe Gotha. Lord Sunderland had also fomented the king's jealousy of the prince of Wales, and persuaded him that the ministers in England were caballing with the son against the authority of the father. With a view to corroborate his assertions, he persuaded the king to declare his inclination to continue at Hanover, provided means could be found to transact the business in parliament during his absence. The brother ministers, anxious to conciliate the king, fell into the snare. In consequence of a resolution of the lords of the council, lord Townshend transmitted to secretary Stanhope the heads of the business to be laid before parliament, and concluded his letter with stating it as their humble opinion, “ that in conducting so many important affairs, through the difficulties incident to all popular assemblies, and more particularly increased by the unhappy divisions under which the nation laboured, it would

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, Vol. II. p. 107, 4to.

would be impossible for them to succeed, or even to carry on the session, without frequent and long interruptions, unless his majesty thought proper to trust his royal highness with discretionary powers, to which they might have recourse for extricating the service out of unforeseen difficulties, and for accommodating their conduct, from time to time, to the several variations of circumstances that might arise, which could hardly be communicated, much less be provided for, at a distance." "It being thought necessary," he added, "to pitch upon somebody to carry this dispatch, who might be able to explain any of the points contained in it, his royal highness has been pleased to appoint Mr. Horace Walpole, who was therefore present at the meeting of the lords, that he might, by hearing what passed, be-enabled to give his majesty the most exact information of the sentiments of his servants on the present state of affairs*."

Mr. Walpole was instantly dispatched with this letter, and was at the same time privately instructed by lord Townshend and his brother to ascertain the situation of affairs at Hanover, to justify their conduct, and to expostulate with Mr. Stanhope for entering into the cabals of their enemies. Charged with this commission, Mr. Walpole quitted London on the 13th of November, arrived on the 17th at the Hague, had a short conference with pensionary Heinsius, and the same night departed for Hanover.

After travelling night and day, he reached Gohre† on the 22d, but learned, with extreme mortification, that orders had been transmitted to England to prorogue the parliament; and that from the king's jealousy of the prince, all public proceedings were to be suspended until his majesty's arrival. He soon discovered the successful intrigues of Sunderland with the Hanoverian junto, and their effect on the king, and found that Stanhope, in whom his brother and lord Townshend had reposed implicit confidence, was deeply implicated in the cabal.

The presence of Mr. Walpole confounded lord Sunderland, and disconcerted the Hanoverian junto. Mr. Stanhope, affected with his warm expostulations and manly remonstrances, renewed his professions of gratitude and attachment to those who had raised him to his high situation.

He

* *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence*, Vol. II. p. 123.

† A favourite hunting seat of George the First near Hanover.

He declared, with the most solemn asseverations, that he would use his influence with the king in support of his friends in England, and requested the intervention of Mr. Walpole to re-establish the former harmony. The king also expressed his regret at the recent misunderstanding, and testified the strongest marks of restored confidence.

Mr. Walpole accordingly quitted Gohre, with the full conviction of Mr. Stanhope's repentance and sincerity, and hastened to carry the good tidings to England. His eagerness to convey this pleasing intelligence will appear from his letter to Mr. Stanhope, on his arrival at the Hague, dated December 8. "I arrived here last night in a very indifferent condition; for my chaise breaking, two posts from Hanover, I got into a light open waggon, and by that means was exposed to such violent storms of wind, hail, and rain, that after the first night I contracted extreme pains in all my joints on my left side, so that it was impossible for me to ride on horseback. However, without taking any rest, I continued my journey hither, that I may lose no time in my way to England, in order to execute a commission that I think of the utmost consequence to the public affairs, and which my own particular concern, as well as his majesty's service, will engage me to use my utmost skill to bring to a good issue*."

He had scarcely reached London, and communicated to the brother ministers the renewal of the king's favour, when a dispatch from secretary Stanhope arrived, announcing the dismissal of lord Townshend from the office of secretary of state, accompanied with the offer of the government of Ireland. Confounded at this instance of duplicity, and shocked at being the dupe of Stanhope's affected sincerity, Mr. Walpole expostulated with a frankness and manly freedom which do honour to his integrity and spirit †.

He gave also a striking instance of his disinterestedness and attachment to his friends when the new administration was arranged under the auspices of lord Sunderland. Lord Townshend, after accepting the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, was dismissed in disgrace. Walpole relinquished the

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, Vol. II. p. 137.

† See this spirited letter in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, Vol. II. p. 146, to which work the reader is referred for

a circumstantial detail of the cabals which occasioned the dismissal of Townshend, the resignation of Walpole, and the disunion of the Whig ministry.



Feb. 26th 1802 by the Rev. W. Cox London

James Stanhope

JAMES 1st EARL STANHOPE

From an Original in the Possession of the Earl of Harrington

the office of first lord of the Treasury, and his resignation was followed by those of Devonshire, Orford, Methuen and Pulteney. Sunderland and Addison were appointed secretaries of State, and Stanhope first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer. The king, after accepting the resignation of Robert Walpole with extreme reluctance, was anxious to retain Mr. Walpole in his service, whose abilities in negotiation he duly appreciated. The grand marshal of Hanover waited on him, with a gracious message from his majesty, importing that he was much satisfied with his services, and saw no reason why he should not continue to be employed, although his relations were no longer in place. But Mr. Walpole, highly indignant at the ill usage which the brother ministers had received, declined, in terms of respect, this kind insinuation, and resigned his post of secretary to the Treasury*. Fortunately before the dismissal of the ministry, he was nominated by his brother surveyor and auditor of the revenues of America, which being a sinecure place for life, insured him an income of 800*l.* a year.

From this period Mr. Walpole united his efforts with those of his party in a violent opposition, and, like his brother, coalesced with the Tories, and even the Jacobites, for the purpose of thwarting all the measures of government. His name frequently occurs in the parliamentary debates, on the side of opposition, although the substance of his speeches is seldom given. But he particularly distinguished himself in censuring the quadruple alliance, which, though concluded for the purpose of preserving the tranquillity of Europe, was calculated, as he thought, to produce the contrary effect†.

In

* Apology.

† By this treaty the emperor renounced all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and in consequence of the claims of Elizabeth Farnese, granted the reversion of the duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, as male fiefs of the empire, to Don Carlos, her eldest son by king Philip, and her heirs male, on the deaths of the dukes of Tuscany and Parma without male issue. He promised to expedite the letters expectative of this reversion, which was called, in the di-

plomatic language of the times, the "eventual investiture," within two months after the ratification of the treaty. As an indemnification for this sacrifice in Italy he received Sicily from the duke of Savoy, in lieu of Sardinia. The terms imposed on Philip were, the renunciation of all claims to the Netherlands, the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples.—Collection of Treaties from the end of the reign of Queen Anne to 1731, Vol. IV.

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In the Rhapsody of Foreign Politics, or Observations on the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Mr. Walpole has introduced some excellent remarks on the quadruple alliance, which ought not to be withheld from the reader:

“I cannot omit observing, that although the principle of this treaty for ascertaining to the emperor and king Philip the portion of the Spanish succession which each of them should for the future respectively enjoy, by their mutual consent, and under the guaranties of the most considerable powers, was just and wise; yet there was more dexterity and art shewn in the conduct and conditions of it, on the part of the imperial court, than there was honour and prudence on the part of England. For the divesting the king of Sicily of that island, which had been granted to him by the treaty of Utrecht, when he had done nothing to forfeit his right, and without the least provocation by his behaviour, was not very honourable. Nor was the putting the emperor in full possession of Sicily, until he had executed, on his part, what he had promised, for securing the eventual succession of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, to Don Carlos, (which was the condition of his having that island,) extremely prudent; for the notion of putting 6000 Swiss into the principal places of those dutchys, to answer that end, was a more dilatory and uncertain expedient, as that garrison could not be put into those places until the letters expectative, containing the eventuell investiture of them to Don Carlos, had passed the dyet of the empire, which it was always in the power of the emperour to delay. Besides the tediousness of a negotiation with the Cantons, for hiring those troops, and the stipulated proposal, that the king of England should furnish 6000 men, in the mean time, to supply that want, was, I may say, ridiculous and absurd.”

“Hence he was of opinion, that this alliance, calculated for terrifying all the powers of Europe, would be productive of new troubles; foreseeing, that when the emperor was once in actual possession of Sicily, endeavours would be used, notwithstanding the solemn engagements, to disappoint the succession of Don Carlos, should the possessors die without issue male: therefore he spoke strongly against the approbation of that treaty in parliament; and the disagreeable events which followed the conclusion of the treaty, on the part of the imperial court, sufficiently justified his observation*.”

Soon

* Apology.

Soon after the resignation of his friends, and the change of administration, Mr. Walpole joined the Tories and Jacobites, in a question trifling in itself, which however shewed that he was no less inflamed than his brother by the spirit of party. Sir William Wyndham, who was just discharged from the Tower, having moved that Dr. Snape, one of the king's chaplains, and master of Eton School, should preach before the House, on the anniversary of the Restoration of Charles the Second, the motion was seconded by Shippen; but vehemently opposed by the ministerial Whigs, who contended that Dr. Snape had recently attacked the champion * of the Revolution and Protestant Succession, and defended passive obedience and non-resistance. Mr. Walpole defended Dr. Snape with no less warmth, and observed, it was unusual to put the negative on any man whom a member had thought fit to name, and that Dr. Snape was a person of great merit and learning. His brother also spoke highly in his commendation, and the question was carried by a majority of ten votes †.

The zeal which Mr. Walpole displayed in behalf of the Whigs who had quitted the ministry, and adhered to the prince of Wales, exposed him to the censures of the court party, and he had the honour of being satirized in the political ballad called the "Seven Wise Men," which he thus mentions in a letter to his brother, dated July 2, 1791. "The inclosed ballad, in answer to what was made upon the thirteen kings, is highly valued by the court party; it is supposed to be the product of Mr. Craggs' sense and his man Tickle's poetry, which is all I shall say of it, especially since I think they have done me a great deal of honour." Mr. Walpole was classed with his brother as forming together one of the seven wise men who governed the prince of Wales, and even his successful negotiations in Holland, in the true spirit of party, were made the object of ridicule ‡.

In

* Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, who published a Preservative against the Principles and Practices of Non-jurors, and a Sermon on the Nature of the Kingdom of Christ. These two publications were censured by the convocation, and the sermon was answered by Dr. Snape.

† Tindal, Vol. 19, p. 132, 133.

‡ "The Walpoles twain but one I count,
 " For say whate'er they can,
 " Although two wags, they do amount
 " But just to one wise man."
 * * * * *
 " To the purpose Horace did not much,
 " But made a heavy splutter,
 " Of treaties when he bit the Dutch
 " On the fam'd point of butter."

In the debates on the South Sea scheme Mr. Walpole took an active part: at the opening of the business he confessed that the scheme was weak in its projection, villainous in its execution, and calamitous in its end; but he warmly seconded his brother's endeavours to prepare a remedy before they instituted an enquiry. During the proceedings he inveighed against the rapacity, pride, and insolence of the directors, and was severe in his censures of Sir John Blunt, whom he considered as the contriver and chief promoter of the mischief.

When the unfortunate failure of the South Sea scheme compelled the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope to court the assistance of Townshend and Walpole, Mr. Walpole again came into office as secretary to the duke of Grafton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and suggested a plan for reducing the expence of the military establishment, which was highly approved by the king. The deaths of Sunderland and Stanhope having restored the brother ministers to the full confidence of the sovereign, and to their posts of secretary of State and first lord of the Treasury, he was again associated in their political labours, and employed in various commissions of high trust and delicacy.

The distresses of the nation at this juncture caused great disaffection in all ranks of people; and suspicions justly entertained, of the corrupt interposition of the Hanoverian ministers and mistresses, in favour of the South Sea scheme, rendered the king extremely unpopular, and excited a conspiracy for the restoration of the dethroned family, which is distinguished by the name of Atterbury's Plot. Full information being conveyed to the british ministers from the regent of France, and confirmed by intercepted letters, active preparations were made to repel invasion; and Mr. Walpole was again deputed to the Hague, for the purpose of requiring succours of men to be ready for immediate embarkation in case of necessity.

On his arrival at the Hague, in May 1722, he experienced much greater difficulties than during his first mission in 1715. The minds of the people were alienated from England by the negligence of the british government in sending back the dutch troops, who had been granted in 1715, in the midst of a severe winter. Lord Cadogan had irritated the republican party by his imprudent zeal, in publicly promoting the election of
the

the prince of Orange, to the stadholdership of Groningen, and by favouring his pretensions to that of Guelderland ; he had still more highly exasperated the magistrates of Amsterdam, by threatening, in his convivial moments, to compel the province of Holland to follow the example of Groningen.

Notwithstanding these and other difficulties, Mr. Walpole succeeded in the object of his mission, and, in less than a fortnight, obtained a resolution of the States General, to hold in readiness 3000 men for the service of the king of England. He principally owed his success, in this difficult negotiation, to the zeal of his confidential friends Fagel and Slingelandt, to the assistance of Hornbeck, who had succeeded Heinsius in the office of pensionary, and to his address in softening the republican party, and conciliating the magistrates of Amsterdam. The leading members of the republic did him the justice to declare, that, considering the indisposition of the States of Holland, no other person could have succeeded in this delicate commission.

On the 25th of June 1722, he took leave of the States, and returned to England, where he continued an useful and indefatigable co-adjutor to lord Townshend and his brother, until his known talents for negotiation brought him upon the public theatre of Europe in a more enlarged sphere of action.

CHAPTER 3.

1723.

Mission of Mr. Walpole to Paris—Subjects of his Correspondence—Character of the Duke of Orleans, and Detail of the principal Events which led to the Union between France and England—Account of Torcy—Recal of Lord Stair, and Mission of Schaub to Paris—Administration, Death, and Character of Du Bois—The Duke of Orleans becomes Prime Minister—Contest for Pre-eminence in the British Cabinet.

THE mission of Mr. Walpole to Paris forms an important epoch in his own life, as well as in the administration of his brother. I have shewn in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, that this mission was occasioned by a party struggle between Townshend and Walpole, on one hand, and Carteret on the other; and that the appointment of Mr. Walpole to the embassy of Paris was the prelude to the dismissal of Carteret, and the ascendancy of the brother ministers in the british cabinet.

His original correspondence during the period of his embassy details a series of events highly interesting to France, to England, and to Europe. These letters contain the secret history of the court of Versailles from 1723 to 1730; they relate the death of the duke of Orleans, the administration of the duke of Bourbon, the final ascendancy of cardinal Fleury, and the strict union established between France and England. They collaterally refer to the situation and conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid; they minutely describe the abdication of Philip the Fifth, the short reign of Louis the First, the resumption of the crown by Philip, and the disunion of Spain and France. They detail the negotiations for the treaties of Hanover and Vienna, for the congresses of Cambray and Soissons, the reconciliation of Spain and France, the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, and the reunion of England with the house of Austria.

From this correspondence I shall select an historical narrative of the most interesting events, which will be illustrated by other authentic documents.

To convey a just idea of the situation of the court of France at the time of Mr. Walpole's arrival at Paris, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of the character of the duke of Orleans, and of those events in his administration which led to the union between France and England.

Philip duke of Orleans, who is better distinguished by the title of Regent of France, was son of Philip duke of Orleans, brother of Louis the Fourteenth, by Elizabeth of Bavaria his second wife*. He was born in 1674, and gave striking proofs of quick comprehension, lively parts, and great talents. At an early period he highly distinguished himself in the military line; at the age of seventeen he was intrusted with the command of the corps de reserve at the battle of Steinkirk, where he was wounded in the shoulder; and at the battle of Nerwinden in 1693, he displayed heroic intrepidity, and was five times surrounded by the enemy. In 1706 he commanded the french army at the celebrated siege of Turin, and had his advice been followed, according to the honourable testimony of prince Eugene himself, the siege would not have been raised. Instead of waiting the approach of the enemy within the lines, which were too extensive to be defended, he proposed to lead the army to the attack, but was overruled in a council of war, and thwarted by the obstinacy of Marchin, and the jealousy of La Feuillade. But when the lines were forced, and the french army thrown into confusion, when Marchin was taken prisoner, and La Feuillade overwhelmed with despair was incapable of acting, the duke of Orleans resumed the command, and made the most heroic exertions. Though twice wounded he continued in the hottest of the action, and when the troops gave way, called the officers by their names, animated the soldiers by his voice, and led the troops repeatedly to the charge. Overcome at length by pain, and weakened by loss of blood, he was compelled to retire until his wounds were dressed; but instantly returned to the field of battle, performed the duties of a general and a soldier, and when the disorder and confusion became irreparable, by his presence

* His first wife was Henrietta daughter of Charles the First, by whom he had one daughter

Anna Maria, who espoused Victor Amadeus king of Sardinia.

presence of mind and skill saved the remnant of the army. The king and nation did justice to his military talents, and the successful campaign which he made in Spain increased his reputation.

Having incurred, by his sarcastic railleries, the ill will of the princess Ursini, and of madame de Maintenon, and excited the jealousy of Philip the Fifth by aspiring to the crown of Spain, he lost the command, and was never afterwards employed by Louis the Fourteenth.

Being thus reduced to a state of inactivity and disgrace, he gave a loose to his passions, and broke out into those infamous excesses which disgrace his memory, and to which he was instigated by the example and encouragement of his preceptor du Bois. If it were possible to draw a veil over these enormities, no prince was ever more highly distinguished for personal accomplishments, engaging manners, winning affability, charms of conversation, and love of science : even in the midst of his excesses, he was adored by all ranks of people, who attributed his vices to du Bois, and his virtues to himself.

The vindictive spirit of madame de Maintenon followed him in his retirement ; the premature deaths of the dauphin, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry were attributed to poison, and the duke of Orleans was accused of an intention to secure the crown of France by the murder of the whole royal family. These infamous reports were countenanced by madame de Maintenon for the advancement of her darling the duke of Maine, and made a deep impression on the mind of Louis the Fourteenth. In consequence of these ill-grounded suspicions, and from a misplaced affection to his natural son the duke of Maine, the king, by his will, instead of declaring the duke of Orleans sole regent, restricted his authority by a council of regency, and by intrusting to the duke of Maine the protection of the young sovereign's person, the superintendence of his education, the command of his guard, and the government of his household. But this will being annulled by parliament, through the influence, and on the representations of the duke of Orleans, he was declared sole regent, with more enlarged powers. The first acts of his administration were to appoint seven councils for the management of public affairs, and to hold a bed of justice, in which the king assisted to confirm the new regulations.

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The peculiar situations of the duke of Orleans and George the First changed the discordant politics of the two cabinets, and united the interests of England and France. By the treaty of Utrecht it was stipulated, that the crowns of France and Spain should never be joined in the same person; and Philip duke of Anjou was acknowledged king of Spain on renouncing his right to the crown of France, which was to devolve on the duke of Orleans should Louis the Fifteenth die without issue male. The young monarch being of a sickly constitution, this event was not improbable; and Philip, notwithstanding his renunciation, entertained designs of ascending the throne of France, and was countenanced by a considerable party in the kingdom. Hence the duke of Orleans, threatened with the loss of the succession, favourably received the overtures of England as the only power able to support his right; and George the First was equally anxious to conciliate the friendship of France, as the principal means of counteracting the schemes of the jacobites, and annihilating the hopes of the pretender. When their interests thus concurred, it was not difficult to adjust the conditions of a treaty of alliance; after a few obstacles and delays, occasioned by the volatile character of the regent, a negotiation was commenced by the earl of Stair at Paris, continued by Mr. Walpole and Chateauneuf the french minister at the Hague, and finally concluded by secretary Stanhope and du Bois the confidential friend of the regent.

The principal articles of the treaty which formed the bond of union between the two countries, were, on the side of the regent, to send the pretender beyond the Alps; and on the part of George the First, to guaranty, in conformity with the peace of Utrecht, the eventual succession of the house of Orleans to the crown of France. This singular alliance, concluded on the 21st of August 1716, formed the commencement of a new æra in the political annals of Europe, and united the rival powers of France and England, whose enmity had deluged Europe with blood, and whose union produced a long and unexampled period of peace and tranquillity.

From the conclusion of this treaty the great object of the english cabinet was directed to keep the regent steady to his engagements, through the channel of du Bois, who was gratified with a large pension from the

king of England *. To attain this point, it was necessary to procure the dismissal of Villars, Noailles, Torcy, and d'Uxelles, who were attached to the old system, and gradually to raise du Bois to the office of prime minister. But to compass this scheme was no easy task; for, notwithstanding the wonderful ascendancy which du Bois had acquired over his illustrious pupil, the regent did not without great reluctance consign to him the supreme direction of the State.

Misinformed writers have asserted, that the advancement of du Bois was as unobstructed as it was rapid, and that the duke of Orleans was as eager to promote him as he was to be promoted. The dispatches of the earl of Stair † prove the falsity of these unqualified assertions, and shew that the regent hesitated, that du Bois almost despaired of conquering his repugnance, and that the success was principally owing to the influence of the english cabinet, by which the regent from personal motives was governed.

The appointment of du Bois to the direction of foreign affairs was a prelude to the success of the whole plan. This arrangement was so essential to the british cabinet, that lord Stair considered it as “the surest pledge for the support of those measures in the promotion of which the abbot had been the chief instrument.” Du Bois was no sooner nominated to this post, than he artfully appropriated to himself the management of the most secret transactions; all affairs of importance passed through his hands alone, and the councils established at the commencement of the regency were suppressed, though the respective ministers were permitted to retain their appointments ‡.

Having thus obtained for du Bois the management of foreign affairs, the next attempt of the english cabinet was to effect the dismissal of the marquis de Torcy, secretary of State, the inveterate enemy of England, and the ablest minister in the french cabinet.

John Baptiste marquis de Torcy, second son of the great Colbert, was born in 1665; brought up under the auspices and improved by the instructions of his celebrated father, he was soon initiated in state affairs, and

* St. Simon affirms that this pension was 40,000*l.* but this sum was so enormous at that period as to render it probable that he was misinformed.

† Hardwicke's State Papers, Vol. 2.

‡ Duclos *Memoires Secrets*, T. 1, p. 408.

and commenced at a very early period his diplomatic career as secretary and envoy in different courts of Europe. In the twenty-second year of his age he was appointed secretary of State for foreign affairs. He distinguished himself in the negotiations which took place on the death of Charles the Second, king of Spain, in regard to the succession of the spanish dominions, at the congress of Gertruydenberg, and in the conferences which settled the peace of Utrecht. A striking proof of his ability is given in the history of these transactions published after his death from his papers*; it is one of the most curious monuments of the superiority of the french cabinet in every species of intrigue and address in negotiation.

Torcy continued to enjoy, during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, the full confidence of his sovereign, and was engaged in secretly promoting the success of the invasion against England, and in making excuses for permitting the pretender to reside in Loraine. On the death of Louis the Fourteenth, Torcy was continued in the ministry, as the only person versed in the management of foreign transactions; his capacity for affairs, and the talent which he possessed of rendering business agreeable to the regent, made him a necessary instrument in the administration. But Torcy † had become obnoxious to George the First, and the Whigs who directed the counsels of England at this period, by his declaration to lord Bolingbroke concerning the nullity of any renunciation which could be made by Philip duke of Anjou to the crown of France ‡.

The

* *Memoires de Torcy pour servir à l'Histoire des Negociations, depuis le Traité de Ryswick jusqu' à la paix d'Utrecht.*

† Torcy is represented by the french writers, and particularly by St. Simon, who knew him personally, as remarkable for the mildness of his manners and the placidness of his temper; yet the earl of Stair has recorded an instance which proves a great want of self command, and a peevish aversion to the English, at a time when it was the interest of the french court to continue on good terms with them.—See Hardwicke's Papers, Vol. II. p. 530, 535.

‡ Though the peace of Utrecht had obliged

the spanish branch of the Bourbon family to renounce by oath the right of succession to the crown of France; yet the doctrine of its invalidity, as an act void ab initio, had been publicly avowed. Torcy frankly owned to lord Bolingbroke, "The renunciation desired would be null and invalid by the fundamental laws of France, according to which laws the nearest prince to the crown is of necessity the heir. This law is considered as the work of Him who has established all monarchies, and we are persuaded in France that God only can abolish it. No renunciation therefore can destroy it; and if the king of Spain should renounce it for the sake of peace,

and

The interest of England concurring with the inclinations of du Bois, who was jealous lest Torcy should supplant him in the management of foreign affairs, his dismissal was obtained principally by the artful management of lord Stair. The address which Stair employed in thus completing the triumph of du Bois is recorded in his journal*, and will afford a striking picture of the great ascendancy which England at that period possessed in the cabinet of Versailles.

On many other occasions du Bois employed the interest of the english ambassador with the regent, of which two curious instances are recorded by Duclos. While his agent Lafiteau was ineffectually soliciting the pope to confer on him the dignity of cardinal, the pretender, who had retired to Rome, being distressed for money, offered his turn of nomination to du Bois, provided he would procure the payment of his pension, which was considerably in arrears. Du Bois, however, not only declined accepting the nomination, on a condition which would have ruined his credit at London; but obtained the intercession of George the First, and the emperor, in his favour.

During this transaction the archbishopric of Cambray becoming vacant, he coveted that high dignity, as a means of rendering him more worthy of the purple. But finding the regent disinclined to promote a person of his dissolute character, to a see recently filled by the venerable Fenelon; du Bois adopted the same plan which he followed in regard to the cardinal's hat. He wrote to des Touches†, the french agent at London, to request that George the First would apply to the regent. The king, on receiving

and in obedience to his grandfather, they would deceive themselves, who received it as a sufficient expedient to prevent the mischief we purpose to avoid."—See Report of the Secret Committee, p. 13.

Torcy made no scruple of publicly declaring that this expedient, which had been devised to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch, could be of little force, as being inconsistent with the fundamental laws of France. "This declaration," observes a judicious author, "gives a remarkable instance of the weak-

ness or wickedness of that administration, who could build the peace of Europe on so sandy a foundation, and accept of terms which France itself was honest enough to own were not to be maintained." Letter to Two Great Men, p. 20.

* Hardwicke's State Papers, Vol. II.

† Des Touches was well known as the author of several excellent comedies, and was chosen a member of the french academy. He himself communicated this anecdote to Duclos. Vol. II. p. 82.

ceiving the application, burst into laughter: "Sire," said des Touches, who was in great favour with the king, "I feel no less than your majesty the singularity of the application; but it will be of the greatest importance to my interest to obtain it." "How," replied George, continuing to laugh, "shall a protestant prince interfere in making an archbishop of France? The regent himself will laugh, and pay no attention to my recommendation." "Excuse me, Sire," returned des Touches, "he will laugh indeed, but he will grant it; first out of respect to your majesty, and secondly for its singularity. Besides, du Bois is the person on whom my future condition in life totally depends, he will ruin me if I do not obtain from your majesty an urgent letter on this occasion; here it is already written; and the kindness with which your majesty has honoured me, leads me to hope that you will not refuse your signature." "Give it me," said the king, "since it will be of so much service to you;" and he signed it. The dispatch was immediately forwarded; the regent was convinced that du Bois had suggested this measure; but his appointment did not the less take place.

Lord Stair having quarrelled with Law, who directed the finances of France, earl Stanhope, secretary of State, who had long been in habits of the strictest intimacy with the regent, repaired to Paris, and settled with him and du Bois the plan of future intercourse. Stair being recalled, Sir Richard Sutton was deputed to Paris, and, after a short stay, succeeded by Mr. afterwards Sir Luke Schaub, a native of Basle, who had served as private secretary to earl Stanhope, and was principally employed in penning his foreign dispatches. After passing a year at Madrid, in the character of english agent, he was selected by lord Carteret to convey to du Bois the strongest assurances from the king of England, that the death of lord Stanhope would occasion no alteration in the conduct of the british cabinet, who would persevere in maintaining the connection with France, and pursuing the same system of politics which had proved so advantageous to both countries. Du Bois, whose influence over the regent depended on the friendship of the british cabinet, affectionately received his friend Schaub, as the messenger of joyful tidings.

The failure of the Mississippi scheme, which reduced France to a bankruptcy, and the disgrace of Law, served to increase the ascendancy of du Bois, and left him without a rival in the affections of the regent.

Having

Having succeeded in obtaining the archbishopric of Cambray, and the dignity of cardinal, he was finally raised, by the influence of England, through the agency of his friend Schaub, to the office of prime minister. But he did not long enjoy that elevated station ; he died on the 10th of August 1723, in the 67th year of his age.

William du Bois, who thus attained the highest station in church and state, was the son of an apothecary in Limousin, and was born in 1656. Chance having made him sub-preceptor to the duke of Orleans, his supple temper, insinuating manners, versatile talents, and indefatigable perseverance in promoting his own views, raised him to the highest honours and employments of the State. The notorious infamy of his private character has induced superficial observers to deny him abilities which he really possessed, and not sufficiently to appreciate his capacity for public business, and talents for negotiation.

In fact he did not solely gain the favour of his pupil by flattering his passions and pandering to his vices, but he inspired him with a love of science, rendered natural philosophy easy and familiar, and instructed him in political knowledge. He also accompanied the young prince in some of his campaigns, and displayed at the battle of Steinkirk a striking instance of personal valour and humanity. Marshal Luxembourg, who commanded in that memorable engagement, said to Louis the Fourteenth, who mentioned that the abbé Pelisson died without confession, “ I know another abbé who might die in the same situation.” “ Who ? ” enquired the king. “ The abbé du Bois,” returned Luxembourg, “ who intrepidly exposed himself to danger in the battle of Steinkirk. I met him in every part of the field.” At the conclusion of the engagement he prevailed on the duke of Chartres to give orders for the removal and care of the wounded; he wrote also an account of the battle with equal spirit and precision, and his letter pleased and surprised Louis the Fourteenth.

St. Simon has in his Memoirs agreeably detailed the circumstances of his extraordinary rise; but, in drawing his portrait, has delineated his vices, and forgotten his abilities. Marshal Villars, however, speaks* more favourably

* On lui trouvoit beaucoup d'esprit, mais il avoit mauvaise reputation pour les moeurs. Son maître avoit été le premier à en parler assez

mal, mais sitôt que le cardinal n'eut plus d'autre intérêt que celui de l'état, il y parut entièrement dévoué ; cherchant l'amitié et l'approbation

vourably of his public character. During the last year of his life, the enormous load of public business, and the ill state of his health, rendered him incapable of executing the duties of his office with his accustomed facility. The affairs of State were consequently in great disorder at his death, and hence, perhaps, arose the imputation of negligence and incapacity.

On the death of du Bois the duke of Orleans resumed the reins of government, in the quality of prime minister, and appeared like a man relieved from a great burthen, recalling all those whom the cardinal had banished from court, and expressing the most marked contempt for his memory *. Fortunately, however, his interests concurring with the inclinations of the english ministry, no alteration ensued in the friendship established between France and England. The appointment of Morville, as successor to du Bois, in the direction of foreign affairs, at the recommendation of the english cabinet, sufficiently proved the inclination of the duke of Orleans to maintain the union with England.

Although the death of du Bois did not produce any change in the situation of the two courts; yet it occasioned the recal of the english minister at Paris, and brought Mr. Walpole upon the political theatre at a critical period.

The british cabinet was divided into two parties; the one headed by lord Townshend, secretary of State for the northern department, and Walpole, who was first lord of the Treasury; the other was led by lord Carteret, secretary of State for the southern department, who had succeeded to the influence of Sunderland and Stanhope. A violent struggle for ascendancy ensued, and was still undecided, when the king repaired to Hanover, in July 1723. He was accompanied by the two secretaries of State, and during their absence Walpole executed their office in England. The Hanoverian junto was likewise divided into two parties, who ranged themselves under the duchess of Kendal and the countess of Darlington.

Lord

tion des honnêtes gens, et voulant, disoit-il, punir les fripons. Enfin, sa mort fut regardée comme une perte dans la conjoncture présente.” *Memoires de Villars*, T. 3, p. 80.

* If we may credit Schaub, whose excessive

attachment to du Bois renders him a suspicious panegyrist, the duke of Orleans was highly affected with his death, and burst into a flood of tears when he announced it to the king.

Lord Townshend had secured the duchess of Kendal, and lord Carteret lady Darlington, with Bernsdorf, Bothmar, and the principal Hanoverian ministers. He was a man of superior knowledge and great abilities, and conciliated the favour of the king, by his acquaintance with the german language, and by flattering his german prejudices. In virtue of his post as secretary for the southern department, the correspondence with the court of Versailles passed through his hands; his attachment to the principles of Sunderland and Stanhope secured the confidence of du Bois; and his influence in the cabinet of Versailles was increased by the representations of Sir Luke Schaub, that he solely directed the system of foreign affairs, and was the only minister who was anxious to preserve the connection between the two countries.

With a view still farther to ingratiate himself with the king, he promoted a scheme suggested by Schaub, to negotiate a marriage between Amelia, countess de Platen, niece of lady Darlington, and the count de St. Florentin, and to procure, through the influence of the king, a dukedom for his father the marquis de la Vrilliere. The king warmly seconded this proposal; he agreed to portion the bride, and permitted Schaub to employ his name in soliciting the dukedom from du Bois, provided the grant could be obtained without difficulty, and without offending the nobility of France. Schaub readily secured the concurrence of du Bois, Carteret contrived to retain the negotiation in his own hands, and accompanied the king to Hanover, in order to conclude it with the greater secrecy. Rumours however of the transaction transpiring, the secret was confidentially communicated by Carteret to lord Townshend, and thus became known to the duchess of Kendal, who was jealous of the family of Platen.

In this situation of affairs the death of du Bois defeated the views of Carteret, and paved the way to the ascendancy of Townshend and Walpole, by the recal of Schaub, and the appointment of Mr. Walpole to the embassy at Paris. Although Sir Luke Schaub had conducted the affairs of his mission with great address; yet being a foreigner, and without distinction, either from birth or connections, he could not have so long continued in this station, had not the protection of Stanhope, Sunderland and Carteret, and his personal credit with du Bois, concurred to render his pre-

sence at Paris conducive to the maintenance of the pacific system. In consequence of his attachment to Carteret, he became obnoxious to Townshend and Walpole, and they eagerly embraced the opportunity which the death of du Bois presented, of lessening his credit with the king. Townshend represented that the continuance of Schaub at Paris would be prejudicial to his majesty's affairs, in consequence of the personal enmity of count Nocé, who had been banished by the cardinal, and considered Schaub as the cause of his disgrace. Being now reinstated in his former favour, he was supposed to be the person who would govern the duke of Orleans. Lord Townshend therefore suggested the propriety of deputing to Paris a person capable of ascertaining the state of the french cabinet, and the real influence of Schaub; he recommended Mr. Walpole as best qualified for this delicate charge, and to avoid disgusting lord Carteret, proposed, that his brother-in-law should not assume a diplomatic character, but appear to pass through Paris in his way to Hanover. The king's consent was the signal of victory, and Townshend triumphantly announces to Walpole the beneficial consequences which must result from this step. "If Horace Walpole executes his commission with his usual dexterity, the effect will either be that he will make such discoveries as must end in getting Schaub recalled, or at least that Schaub, finding we have credit enough to get so near a relation sent over to superintend him, will so far consider his own situation, as to act in a more open and sincere manner towards us, and think it necessary to make a merit to himself, of appearing to throw that interest into our hands, which, after such a tacit declaration in our favour, it may no longer be in his power to withhold from us. And as that interest has hitherto been the chief, and is at present in a manner the only hold and support of our antagonists, this affair, if managed with discretion, will wound them in the most vital and sensible part*."

This transaction was settled without the knowledge of lord Carteret; but soon afterwards the king, at the suggestion of lord Townshend, ordered him to expedite credential letters to Mr. Walpole for the purpose of admitting the king of Portugal into the quadruple alliance. Carteret reluctantly

* Lord Townshend to Robert Walpole, Hanover, Sept. 25, 1723. *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence*, Vol. II. p. 268.

luctantly obeyed, and Townshend again thus announced his success. "This indubitable mark of confidence towards us, and neglect towards Carteret and Schaub, cannot fail to induce the duke of Orleans and the french minister to open themselves to my brother Horace, and to court our friendship. And the king's putting so near a relation of ours over Schaub's head, in a court, where the whole secret of affairs centers at present in lord Carteret's province, and in the strength and heart of his interest, will be such a publication to the world of the superiority of our credit, that I think a stronger neither can nor ought to be desired at present. * * * *

"This mortifying stroke, I assure you, has so astonished lord Carteret, that I never observed in him, on any occasion, such visible marks of despair*."

With respect to the affair of the dukedom, which lord Townshend foresaw would encounter many difficulties, Mr. Walpole was instructed neither to oppose it, lest he should offend the king, or to interfere in the negotiation, if he could avoid it with prudence.

* Lord Townshend to Robert Walpole, October 25, 1723. *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence*, Vol. II. p. 281.

CHAPTER 4.

1723.

State of the French Court and Character of the Ministers on the Arrival of Mr. Walpole at Paris—Embarrassments from Sir Luke Schaub, and from the Affair of the Dukedom—Confidential Intercourse with Count Nocé and the Duke of Orleans—Sudden Death of the Duke of Orleans.

MR. WALPOLE arrived at Paris on the 19th of October, and on the 1st of November forwarded to lord Townshend his first dispatch containing a most perspicuous and interesting account of the french court and ministry. The answer of lord Townshend will shew the extreme satisfaction which the king derived from this communication.

“ Hanover, Nov. 27—Dec. 8.

“ Not thinking it proper to have Mr. Thomas come over to the Gohre, I desired him to stay at this place till our return hither; and I now take the first opportunity of dispatching him back to you, that you may have the satisfaction of knowing that the relations you sent by him were highly acceptable to the king, who expressed himself with the greatest kindness and affection towards you on this occasion, and declared that he never had at any time received so sensible and satisfactory an account of the situation of persons and affairs at the french court.”

Mr. Walpole found the duke of Orleans in full possession of absolute authority, and managing the vast and complicated machine of State with a skill and facility equal to his great talents; but which the dissoluteness of his life did not seem to promise.

Louis the Fifteenth was at this period only in his fourteenth year; in 1722 he had been declared out of his minority, and after being crowned at Rheims, ostensibly assumed the reins of government. He was of a weak and sickly habit, and shewed no marks of that robust and hardy frame, which afterwards supported such incessant fatigue. He was af-

fectionately devoted to his preceptor Fleury, but wholly governed in affairs of State by the duke of Orleans; and the ministers were either persons of inferior capacity, or of little consequence.

Armenonville, the keeper of the seals, was without weight or capacity, and is characterised by the duke of Orleans in the celebrated pasquinade * against the ministry of du Bois, as thus addressing himself to the russian ambassador. "Are you come, sir, to consult me as keeper of the seals, or as financier? I must frankly inform you, that I am acquainted with my own finances, but not with those of the king; and as keeper of the seals, papers are sent me to seal, but I am not permitted to read them. I have no other merit than that of good-will."

His son, count Morville, appointed to the office of secretary of State on the death of cardinal du Bois, was, like his father, a man of integrity and good-will; but little acquainted with foreign affairs, and extremely embarrassed

* In the midst of a large society of ladies, noblemen, men of letters, and artists, assembled at the house of madame d'Auverne, the duke of Orleans affected to quote a pasquinade, which he pretended, was recently published against himself and his administration. "Ladies and gentlemen," he said, "the French are extremely malicious in publishing the most severe libels against me and the ministers. They feign that the czar of Russia, finding the french government wiser than those of the other nations which he has visited, has just sent an envoy, express, to request the assistance of my counsels. The ambassador makes me a flattering eulogium on the part of his master, to which I reply, 'His czarish majesty, sir, does me great honour, by his good opinion of my capacity, which I do not merit. Louis the Fourteenth, from a principle of jealousy, removed me from his councils; my studies have been confined to the belles lettres, chymistry, painting, and music. My birth, it is true, called me to the regency, but I do not interfere in the government any otherwise than to plan edicts when I am intoxicated in the evening, with my

boon companions, which annul those of the preceding evening. I am concerned that I am not able to assist your master in his great projects; but go to cardinal du Bois.'

"The ambassador accordingly repairing to du Bois, and delivering the prince's message, the cardinal replied, 'The duke of Orleans is joking, without doubt, in sending you to me. Where does he think I have learnt to govern well? I am the son of a village apothecary. I began my career at Paris, as servant to a doctor of the Sorbonne; my good stars made me sub-preceptor to the regent, who loaded me with dignities, without giving me capacity. Besides I am eaten up with disease, which consumes me, and prevents me, even if I had the capacity, from transacting the affairs of France. Go then, to the keeper of the seals, and the other ministers.'

After drawing the characters of Armenonville, Maurepas, Breteuil, Dodun and la Vrilliere, which are inserted in the text, the duke of Orleans concluded: "Voilà comment l'ambassadeur courant de l'un à l'autre ministre sans rien pouvoir apprendre, s'en retourna à sa cour comme il estoit venu."

embarrassed in transacting business. The principal cause of his elevation was derived from his devotion to England. He is characterised even by Schaub, who was prejudiced in his favour, as possessed of great good sense and prudence, but without shining talents.

Mr. Walpole, in his first dispatch to lord Townshend, speaks of him as “an honest man, that does the business of his office to the satisfaction of his master, without any other confidence or aim at power,” and as “cordially disposed to keep a good understanding with England.”

Jean Frederic count de Maurepas, of the branch of Philippeaux Pontchartrin, was at the head of the marine department ; he was born in 1701, and, in the seventeenth year of his age, was named secretary of State, by the duke of Orleans, as a recompence to his grandfather, the count de Pontchartrin, chancellor, who resigned his charge, that he might not make the will of Louis the Fourteenth, which limited the power of the regent. He was nominated superintendant of the king's household in 1718, and placed at the head of the Admiralty in 1723*.

In the pasquinade Maurepas is thus characterised, as apostrophising the russian ambassador. “I should be happy to be useful to his czarish majesty ; but I trust he will have the goodness to wait until I am acquainted with business. I have sense, an inclination to learn, and love for the king and the state ; but I am just come from school, and have seen no other vessel than one which ascended the Seine, two years ago, and those of two feet high which are made to amuse boys of my age. I do not however despair of one day rendering myself serviceable to his czarish majesty ; but I have hitherto only been a lively and mischievous boy.”

Breteuil, the minister at war, was son of the intendant of Languedoc, and became himself intendant of the Limosin. He appears to have solely owed his elevation to his address in stealing the leaf of the register of a village in the Limosin, containing the entry of du Bois's marriage, which
the

* He continued in different employments until 1749, when he was banished by the influence of madame de Pompadour, whom he had satirised. He remained in exile during the whole reign of Louis the Fifteenth, but, on the

accession of Louis the Sixteenth, was recalled, and, though he held no official employment, was considered as prime minister. He died in 1781 in the eighty-second year of his age.

the cardinal had commissioned him to secure*. In reward for this service du Bois called him from his petty office of intendant, to succeed le Blanc as minister of war, although he was totally unacquainted with military concerns. Though not deficient in talents, he was a man of extreme ignorance, and no less vanity, of which St. Simon has recorded two ridiculous instances†. In the pasquinade of the duke of Orleans, Breteuil is thus introduced as speaking to the russian ambassador. "To whom, sir, do you address yourself? It is true, I am secretary at war; but I have seen no other troops than the regiment which passed through Limoges while I was intendant."

Dodun comptroller-general is thus characterised: "I was formerly counsellor of the parliament, and actually reported a cause; but the duke of Orleans made me comptroller-general, and I confess myself totally unacquainted with the duties of my office."

Henry Philippeaux, comte de St. Florentin, son of Louis Philippeaux, marquis de la Vrilliere, succeeded his father on his dismissal from the office of secretary of State, February 17, 1723. At this period he was only 18 years of age, and as he was totally without experience, to him might be applied the pasquinade of the duke of Orleans on his father. "Behold, sir," he says to the russian ambassador, "the form of our letters de cachet, that is all with which I am yet acquainted. Here is one to immure an unfortunate priest in the Bastile. This is all that I do, and all I know how to do. I give it you with great satisfaction, and you may transmit it to your master, who employs similar methods to send his subjects into Siberia." This was the person‡ who afterwards espoused Amelia, countess of Platen, the pretensions of whose family to a dukedom occasioned so much embarrassment to Mr. Walpole, and hastened the recall of Sir Luke Schaub.

The bishop of Frejus, afterwards well known under the denomination
of

* St. Simon relates this anecdote at length, but the authors of the *Dictionnaire Historique* call it in question.

† *Oeuvres de St. Simon*, Tom. 12, p. 231, 236.

‡ Louis Philippeaux, the father, died in 1725;

and Henry, the son, continued in the office of secretary of State until 1736, when he was appointed garde des sceaux, in the place of Chauvelin. He became chancellor to the queen in 1743, and in 1770 was created duke de la Vrilliere. *Des Bas Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*.

of cardinal Fleury, discreetly remained in the back ground of the picture, and the whole weight of affairs rested upon the duke of Orleans. Mr. Walpole commended, in the strongest terms, his great talents for business, and the general satisfaction and tranquillity which prevailed under his administration.

Count Nocé, whose name often occurs in the early correspondence of Mr. Walpole, though not a member of the administration, had considerable influence over the duke of Orleans, as a votary of wit and pleasure, and as a boon companion in his convivial hours. He was a man of a volatile and capricious disposition, solely addicted to his amusements, and averse to business; he repeatedly declined all offices of trust or emolument, and piqued himself on his independence. Although he affected never to interfere in public affairs, yet he occasionally suggested hints, and exerted his great influence over his patron in his hours of relaxation. Hence he was assiduously courted by du Bois, in the early period of the regency; and facilitated his rise at the intercession of madame de Tencin*, who carried on an intrigue with both, but was most devoted to the abbot.

At

* Claudine Alexandrine, usually styled madame de Tencin, was of an illustrious family in the province of Dauphiné. She took the veil, and resided in the monastery of Mont Fleury, near Grenoble; but, disgusted with the life of nun, obtained, through the interest of Fontenelle, a brief from the pope to quit the cloister. She soon afterwards came to Paris, and rendered herself conspicuous by her beauty, talents, gallantries, and political intrigues.

At the instigation of Torcy, she made successful advances to lord Bolingbroke, during his embassy at Paris, became a spy upon his conduct, and stole from him some papers of considerable importance. She had less success with the duke of Orleans, with whom she was employed to ingratiate herself, on the death of Louis the Fourteenth, by d'Argenson, lieute-

nant de police. With a view to effect her purpose, she pretended to be violently in love with him; but the duke, suspecting the snare, was not duped by her blandishments. About the same time she captivated du Bois, and became privately his mistress, the depositary of his secrets, and the directress of his designs.—On his elevation she appeared publicly as his mistress, domineered over him and his household, and was the source of honours and court favours. On his death she totally lost her influence; but lived in a magnificent style, as she had acquired a considerable fortune, during the frenzy of the Mississippi scheme, by the assistance of Law, who was also one of her admirers. Her house continued the rendezvous of men of gallantry and letters, and among her numerous lovers was la Fresney, a counsellor of the parliament,

At length du Bois having firmly established his credit with the regent, neglected Nocé in his applications for favours, who, provoked at his ingratitude, ineffectually endeavoured to obstruct his elevation. He once said to the duke, "I hear you intend to promote that rascal du Bois to the archbishopric of Cambray." "True," replied the duke, extremely embarrassed; "but his promotion will be servicable to my affairs." In his interviews with madame Tencin, he also loaded him with the most sarcastic abuse, which the lady reporting, du Bois obtained the disgrace of Nocé, and Schaub, who was another of her paramours, and espoused the quarrels of du Bois, took an active part in this transaction.

On the cardinal's death, the duke of Orleans instantly sent messenger after messenger to recal Nocé, contemptuously observing in his letters, "*Morta la bestia, morto il venino*," and received him with embraces accompanied with tears. Mr. Walpole describes him as "a humourist, full of satire and contradiction, though with a great fund of wit, and apt to give things a malicious turn, if you approach him too near."

On his recal, Nocé testified the most inveterate hatred and contempt of
Sir

liament, who having a violent quarrel with her, killed himself in her apartment. Being accused of abetting the murder, she was imprisoned in the Chatelet, and from thence transferred to the Bastile; but her innocence appearing on examination, she was released, and entered again into the world. She was author of several novels, of which the principal are *Memoires de Comminges*, and *Les Malheurs de l'Amour*.—Some of her writings partake of the licentiousness of her life, and she may be said, like Mrs. Behu, "to put her characters to bed." She died in 1749, at an advanced age. She is supposed to have been the mother of the celebrated d'Alembert, who was born in 1717, and placed as a foundling under the care of a glass-man, in the parish of La Ronde, in Paris, from whence he was called Jean de la Ronde, until he took the name of d'Alembert.

To her influence, her brother, Pierre Guerin

de Tencin, principally owed his elevation. He entered early into the church, became prior of the Sorbonne, and grand vicar of Sens. He was in great friendship with Law, whose abjuration of the Protestant religion he received, and by his means he considerably improved his fortune, in a manner unfavourable to his reputation. At this period he was chargé d'affaires at Rome, and aspired to the highest ecclesiastical honours. He was appointed archbishop of Embrun in 1724, and in 1740 archbishop of Lyons. He was created cardinal in 1739, at the nomination of the pretender, minister of state in 1742, and aspired to be prime minister on the death of cardinal Fleury, but was disappointed in his expectations. He was a man of moderate abilities, and licentious morals; but of agreeable manners, and insinuating address. He died in 1758, aged 80.

Sir Luke Schaub: publicly called him a babbler, and turned away with marks of disgust, whenever he attempted to address him. His aversion, however, to the british envoy did not influence his political opinions; he was a staunch friend to the alliance between France and England, and warmly recommended the continuance of the connection.

His natural indolence and abhorrence of business induced superficial observers to suppose that he would be merely the social companion of the duke of Orleans, and not have the smallest influence in matters of state. But the sagacity of Mr. Walpole duly appreciated his character: "I have," he says, in a dispatch to lord Townshend, "the influence of count Nocé upon the regent's mind so much at heart, that while Schaub, and indeed others, think him of no great consequence, because he himself, nor the regent for him, seem to have any thoughts of his being put into business, I for that very reason believe he has the greatest credit with his royal highness, as it is certain he has entirely his affection. For as Nocé is a bold open speaker, with a great deal of wit and good sense, but mixed with vanity, I know for certain that he values himself for not seeking to be a minister, and for having never made any great advantage from so great favour as he possesses in the regent's heart, which flatters his own vanity, and at the same time gives him great influence in what he says, as being disinterested, and solely attached to his master's good*." Accordingly Mr. Walpole courted Nocé with the most assiduous attention, and succeeded in conciliating his friendship, and securing the good-will of the duke of Orleans.

Mr. Walpole was greatly embarrassed in his new situation, by the secret opposition of Sir Luke Schaub, who was mortified that a person of his character and connections should be sent to Paris, and was apprehensive of being superseded. With a view, therefore, to render his continuance at Paris necessary, Schaub availed himself of the private negotiation relative to the dukedom, and was supported by all the influence of his friend and protector lord Carteret, whose superior pre-eminence in the cabinet he blazoned to the french ministers, decried the interest of Townshend and Walpole, and represented them as adverse to the alliance with France.

With

* Mr. Walpole to lord Townshend, Paris, Oct. 21—Nov. 1, 1723.

With a view to defeat these manœuvres, Mr. Walpole obtained a private audience of the duke of Orleans; he stated the king's firm resolution to pursue such measures as would preserve the friendship and good understanding with his royal highness, and the sincere attachment of his relations to the same system. He likewise made a distinction between the principles of the Whigs and Tories, and described the former as friendly, and the latter as hostile, to the connection with France. This declaration made a deep impression on the mind of the duke of Orleans, and counteracted in an instant all the insinuations of Sir Luke Schaub.

In consequence of these contradictory opinions, and the mutual jealousy of both parties, they appeared like the ministers of two rival courts; and the letters of Mr. Walpole to his relations, and those of Sir Luke Schaub to lord Carteret, are filled with petulant remarks and vehement invectives, which it would be tedious and uninteresting to detail.

In the midst of these discordant intrigues, the duke of Orleans gave an instance of his superior esteem for Mr. Walpole, and of his conviction that his relations had the pre-eminence in the cabinet. By the express command of the duke of Orleans, communicated through Count Nocé, Mr. Walpole had a confidential interview with his royal highness on the subject of the dukedom. After dining with count Morville, he was conducted by Nocé to a low and dark apartment in the palace of Versailles. Nocé retiring, on the entrance of the duke of Orleans, his royal highness opened the conference, by expressing his willingness to make any sacrifice, or undergo any hazard, to comply with the king's request. He then expatiated on the difficulties and obstacles* which resulted from the aversion of the nobility; he represented the family of la Vrilliere as having no pretensions to that honour; treated the whole
business

* A curious passage in the Memoirs of Villars will prove the embarrassments of the duke of Orleans.

"Le bruit se répandit alors que le duc d'Orléans voulut faire des ducs, et donner cet honneur au marquis de la Vrilliere, a fin que son fils épousât une fille bâtarde du roi d'Angleterre, sur cela je dis au duc d'Orléans; vos bons serviteurs ne peuvent s'empêcher de vous repré-

senter que votre gloire est intéressée à ne pas laisser dire que le roi d'Angleterre, n'osant pas donner sa bâtarde à un milord, dont il y en a plus de deux cents, vous oblige, pour la marier, à faire un duc en France. Le régent m'avoua qu'on lui en avoit parlé, et que je lui faisois un plaisir très sensible de lui faire voir et sentir les conséquences qu'auroit cette démarche."—Memoirs de Villars, Tom. 3, p. 92.

business as an intrigue of Schaub, who had a love affair with madame de la Vrilliere, and had deceived the king by his misrepresentations. He declared therefore his resolution to delay presenting to the king of France, the letter from the king of England, requesting the grant of the dukedom which Sir Luke Schaub had delivered to him, until he had received further information from Hanover. He then concluded, "I must therefore request you instantly to send a courier to Hanover, with a letter for lord Townshend, to lay before his majesty the true and real state of the business; I wish to know the king's sentiments on the subject, and am ready to obey his majesty's commands, when I am convinced he is fully acquainted with the transaction."

An account of this interesting interview, which proved the full reliance of the duke of Orleans on Mr. Walpole's integrity and good sense, is detailed at length, in a dispatch to lord Townshend, dated on the first of December, to be laid before the king. It was accompanied with a private letter, in which Mr. Walpole exculpates himself from having purposely solicited this confidential communication with a view to obstruct the grant of the dukedom. He stated the delicacy of his situation, and his apprehensions of offending the king; yet expressed his full conviction, that the obstacles to the grant were insuperable, that Schaub had exceeded his powers, and by his indiscreet precipitancy in delivering the letter for the king of France, before he was secure of success, had committed the king's honour.

These dispatches had scarcely reached the place of their destination, before another arrived, which announced a sudden and unexpected change in the court of France.

The duke of Orleans had been some time indisposed; but notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of his physicians, would neither abstain from pleasure or business. His surgeon observing his eyes inflamed, and his countenance bloated, predicted a fit of apoplexy, unless he would submit to be bled and physicked. The duke, smiling, replied, that vain apprehensions should not debar him from the enjoyments of life, and a sudden death was that of all others which he preferred. He accordingly continued his usual train of life, and did not relax his extreme application to business.

On the 2d of December, after dinner, in which he freely indulged himself, he transacted much business of State, until fatigued with his exertions, the importunities of visitors, and numerous applications, he retired to his cabinet, to repose himself until the hour in which he usually waited on the king. Among many persons who were refused admittance, was his principal favourite, at this period, the duchess of Phalaris, who came to present a memorial in favour of the duchess of Meilleray. The duke having soon afterwards enquired of his valet the names of the visitors, sent for the duchess of Phalaris, who had retired to the apartment of madame du Rohan; because, as he said, she would not fatigue him with her importunities, and perhaps had something of importance to communicate. On entering the room, she perceived that he was indisposed. While they were conversing on the subject of the memorial, and he was promising to grant her friend's request, he sunk into a kind of lethargy; but recovering, made an apology for his inattention: he soon relapsed, and the duchess observing great difficulty of respiration, and an immediate change of countenance, his eyes open and his mouth distorted, rushed out of the cabinet, and shrieked violently for assistance. But after traversing various apartments in vain, she returned, and found the room full of people, and the duke extended on the floor, his head resting on the corner of the chair. He still breathed; but after several ineffectual attempts to restore him, expired within a few hours, in the 50th year of his age*.

The sudden death of the duke of Orleans, and the doubtful prospect of the succeeding administration, filled the court and country with general consternation; the young king received the account of his demise with great marks of sensibility and affliction, and long regretted his memory. Mr. Walpole has paid him a just tribute of applause in the dispatch which announced his death. "This great and unexpected stroke does I find affect, in a most sensible manner, the persons of the best quality and sense here, as thinking the death of his royal highness at this juncture, considering him

* This account of the death of the duke of Orleans, is principally taken from Mr. Crawford's Dispatch to Lord Carteret, in Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 2, p. 625.

Also from a letter of Sir Luke Schaub to lord Carteret, Mr. Walpole's Dispatches, and Œuvres de St. Simon.

him as to his high birth, and superior talents in government, not to be replaced ; besides that he had, by his capacity, and indefatigable pains in business, overcome difficulties almost insurmountable, and given the nation a prospect of a lasting peace, which the best patriots here think absolutely necessary for France*."

* To lord Townshend, December 6th, 1723. Walpole Papers.

CHAPTER 5.

1723—1724.

The Duke of Bourbon becomes Prime Minister—His Character and Principles—Influence of Madame du Prié—General Account of the New Administration—Marshal de Villars—Paris du Verney and his three Brothers—Change in the Conduct of Louis the Fifteenth—Rise and Ascendancy of Fleury—Extracts from Mr. Walpole's Private Letters, relating to the State of the Court, and to the Motives of his own Conduct—First Conference with Fleury.

THE death of the duke of Orleans was scarcely announeced, before the duke of Bourbon entered the closet, and found the king in tears, and the bishop of Frejus employed in consoling him. The duke requesting the office of prime minister, the king made no reply; but fixed his eyes on Fleury, who instantly nodding approbation, declared he would answer for the duke's loyalty and attachment, and that his majesty would consult his interest in appointing him first minister. He added, "M. de la Vrilliere is in the antichamber, and if your majesty is willing, I will call him to receive your orders to expedite the patent. The king said, "Yes:" La Vrilliere was admitted; the patent, which was drawn up, was signed; and a chair of state being introduced, his majesty seated himself in it, and received the customary oaths from the duke of Bourbon*.

Soon after the departure of the duke of Bourbon, the young duke of Orleans entered the closet, and threw himself at the king's feet, who gently raised him from the ground; the duke burst into tears, and after exclaiming that he was too deeply affected with this melancholy catastrophe of his father's death to address his majesty, abruptly took his leave.

Louis

* Mr. Walpole to lord Townshend, Dec. 6, 1723.



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MADAME DE PRIE

From an Original at Strawberry Hill

Louis Henri, duke of Bourbon and Enghien, of the branch of Condé, usually styled, during his administration, Monsieur le Duc, was in the thirty-second year of his age, when he succeeded the duke of Orleans in the office of prime minister. In his early youth he displayed great personal courage, but was a man of weak capacity and irresolute temper; and possessed all the vices, without the talents, of his predecessor. He was beset by projectors, encompassed by persons of indifferent reputation, and was so wholly governed by his mistress, that his administration was termed the administration of madame de Prié.

Agnes, daughter of Stephen de Berthelot, Baron de Baye, was born in 1698, and espoused, when very young, Louis marquis de Prié, ambassador at the court of Turin*. She possessed great beauty of countenance, elegance of figure, fascinating manners, and, for her age and sex, no inconsiderable share of literary accomplishments; but she was dissolute, imperious, venal, profuse, and intriguing.

The principal ministers who directed affairs under du Bois, and the duke of Orleans, were retained by madame de Prié; Morville, Armenonville, la Vrilliere, Breteuil, and Dodun; most of whom being persons without influence, and of moderate talents, were wholly subservient to her will. To these ministers the duke of Bourbon joined the marshal de Villars†, whom he introduced into the council of State.

These were the ostensible ministers; but the real and efficient agents of this weak administration were four brothers of the name of Paris, whose rapid rise and singular adventures are recorded by Saint Simon. Their father kept a solitary inn at the foot of the Alps, in a narrow pass leading to Italy. His four sons, who followed the occupation of muleteers, were

* Desbois Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, art. Berthelot and Prié; tom. 2, p. 389, and tom. 11, p. 542.

† Louis Hector, marquis and duc de Villars, was born in 1653. Being destined to the profession of arms, he gave, at an early period of his life, numerous instances of extreme intrepidity, and raised himself to the highest military rank, in which he equally distinguished himself by his skill as a general. Towards the close of the

reign of Louis the Fourteenth, he revived the glory of the french arms, and, by his successful campaign in Flanders, and his negotiations at Rastadt, hastened the conclusion of the peace of Baden. His character is well and truly drawn by Voltaire:

“Heureux Villars, fanfaron, et plein de coeur;”
for his vanity was equal to his success and intrepidity.

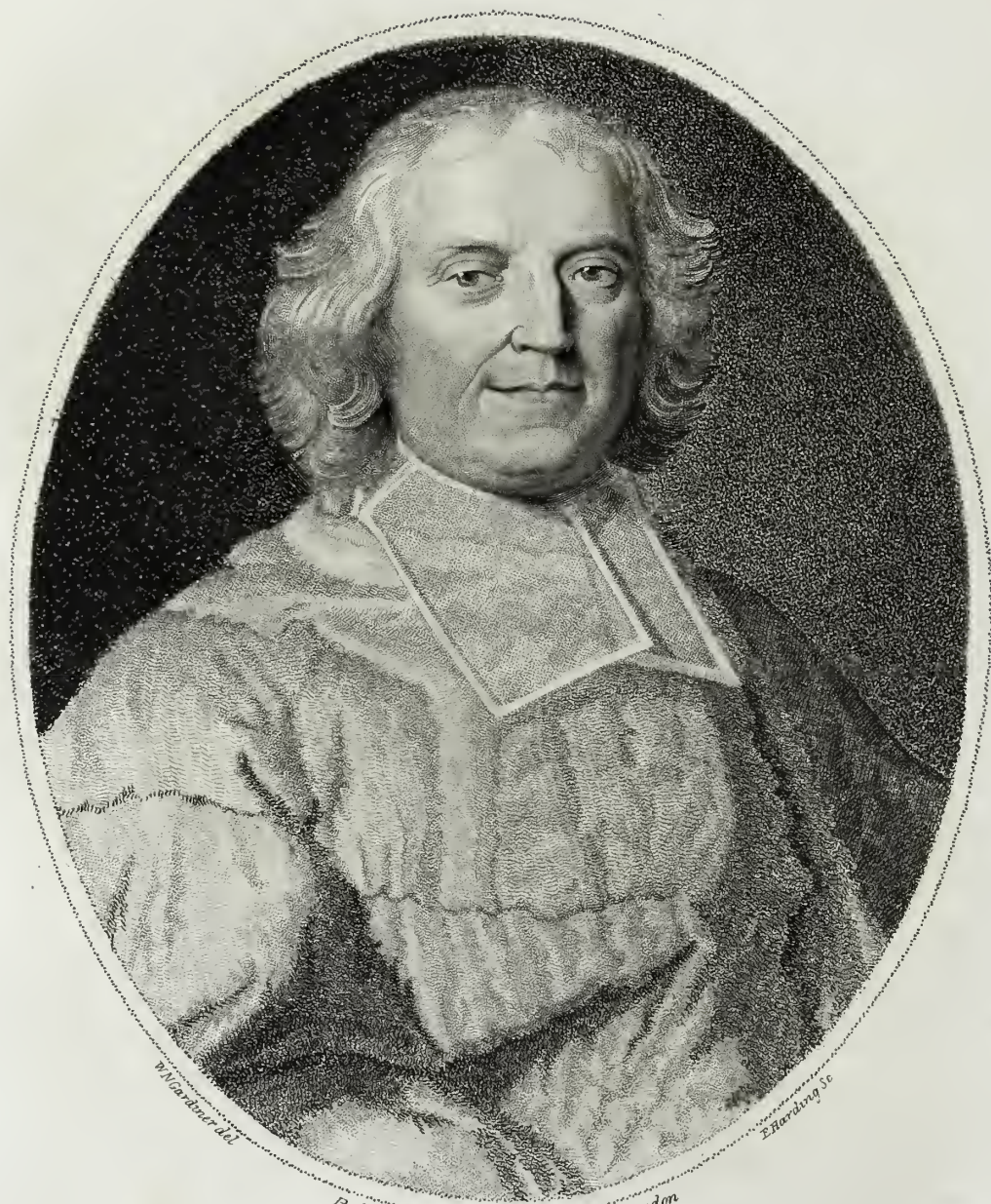
were active, industrious and intelligent, and performed essential service by transporting provisions and forage across the mountains, to the army of the duke de Vendome in Italy, who, by the delay of his commissary, had been prevented from opening the campaign. The activity and zeal of the four brothers attracted notice; they were again employed, made great profits, and gradually became contractors themselves. After raising considerable fortunes they repaired to Paris, where their talents were rewarded, and they were employed in the department of the finances, under the duke of Noailles and Argenson.

During the regency, Law had great difficulty in suppressing their credit and influence; but on the overthrow of his system, to which they greatly contributed, they again rose into power. They principally directed the administration of the finances, under Pelletier de la Houssaie, who was made comptroller-general in 1720, and Dodun, who succeeded him in 1722; they were often consulted by du Bois, and noticed by the duke of Orleans. Being protected by madame de Prié, their authority was paramount under the administration of the duke of Bourbon. The eldest was distinguished by the name of Paris; the second was called la Montagne, from the sign of his father's inn; the third, Montmartel; and the fourth, Duverney, who had served as a common soldier, and was the most remarkable for his address and influence.

The commencement of the duke of Bourbon's administration was extremely embarrassed, by the opposition of the family of Orleans, and by the cabals of his mother, Louisa Frances, natural daughter of Louis the Fourteenth, whose high spirit could not brook subjection to a supercilious and domineering mistress. He was, as Mr. Walpole, in a letter to his brother, justly observes, "encompassed with a mother and a mistress, who had both their private views and interests; who heartily hated one another, but lived well enough in appearance; each apprehending who should get the better in case of a rupture, and both of them daily suggesting, by their creatures, some project that might flatter the duke's particular interests and ambition*." The evil effects of these cabals, and of the duke's incapacity, were counteracted by the situation and ascendancy of Fleury.

Andrew

* Nov. 28, 1724.



Pub. Feb'y 1802 by the Rev. W. Coxe London

+ a. h. an. eu. defruius
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CARDINAL FLEURY

From an Original in the Collection of Lord Walpole

Andrew Hercules de Fleury, was son of a receiver of tythes in the diocese of Lodeve, in the province of Languedoc. He was born on the 22d of June 1653, and discovering early signs of quick comprehension, was sent to Paris, at the age of six, and prosecuted his studies with great assiduity and success, under the Jesuits, and in the school of Harcourt. He distinguished himself by his public dissertations in latin and greek, in which he explained, with considerable learning, the principal doctrines of the athenian philosophers. Being destined to the church, he obtained, in 1668, a canonry of Montpellier, by the recommendation of Pierre de Bonzi, bishop of Beziers, whose protection his father had acquired. This prelate, afterwards better known under the title of cardinal de Bonzi, archbishop of Narbonne, and grand almoner to the queen, was fascinated with the rising talents and insinuating address of young Fleury, introduced him at court, and procured for him the appointment of chaplain to the queen of Louis the Fourteenth, at the age of twenty. On the death of the queen, he was nominated, by the same interest, chaplain to the king. Under the auspices of his powerful protector, he was introduced to the first societies of Paris, and increased the favourable impression of a pleasing figure and fascinating countenance, by the amenity of his manners, the charms of his conversation, and the discretion of his conduct.

These amiable qualities, which acquired him many friends, among the first persons of the realm, for some time retarded his promotion. Louis the Fourteenth was displeased with his courtly manners and general acquaintance, which appeared to him marks of dissipation, and in reply to the numerous applications for a bishopric, said, "Fleury has too many friends, and is too much a man of the world to fulfil the duties of an episcopal station."

Fleury submitted patiently to these disappointments, and was at length, by the importunity of the archbishop of Paris, promoted to the see of Frejus, in Provence*. Retiring to his bishopric he performed his professional duties with extreme regularity, tempered the dignity of his high office with his characteristic suavity of disposition, liquidated,

* In 1698.

liquidated, by the strictest œconomy, the debts which his predecessors had entailed upon the diocese, and rendered himself equally beloved and respected.

He performed the most essential service to the town and district of Frejus, when Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and prince Eugene, led a considerable army against Toulon. The inhabitants of Frejus, alarmed at the approach of the enemy, were preparing to retire, but were prevented by the bishop, whose interposition with the duke of Savoy saved the town from pillage on the payment of a moderate contribution.

During three days, which the duke and prince Eugene passed in the episcopal palace, they distinguished the bishop with uncommon marks of attention; and Victor Amadeus was so much delighted with his conversation and manners, that he pressed him to accept the office of governor to his son, afterwards Charles Emanuel the First, an honour which the bishop declined; but he offended Louis the Fourteenth by performing *Te Deum* in the cathedral of Frejus, and publicly offering the holy water to the duke of Savoy, which was maliciously represented as an act of rejoicing for the success of his arms; circumstances which added obstacles to his further promotion.

During his residence in his bishopric he collected various memorials relating to the revenue, and the improvement of several branches of commerce, manufactures and agriculture, which increased his political knowledge. He did not totally bury himself in his diocese; but made occasional excursions, appeared at court, and in the capital, and kept alive his antient connexions, particularly with the families of Noailles and Villeroy, to whom he principally owed his subsequent elevation.

Louis the Fourteenth, having, at the instigation of madam de Maintenon, made by will an act of settlement for the government of the kingdom, during the minority of his grandson, which divided the administration, and the care of the young king's person, between the dukes of Orleans and Maine, under the controul of a council of regency, appointed marshal Villeroy governor; but was embarrassed in the choice of a preceptor, who was capable of that important trust, and calculated to conciliate the different parties. After much hesitation and difficulty he was induced,

induced, by the importunity of marshal Villeroy, to nominate Fleury, who, aware of this arrangement, had recently resigned the bishopric of Frejus for the abby of Tournus.

Although the duke of Orleans, on the death of Louis the Fourteenth, annulled the will of the monarch, and assumed the sole regency ; yet he confirmed the appointment of the governor and preceptor. During the turbulent and intriguing period of the regency, Fleury conducted himself with such circumspection as to give no umbrage to the duke of Orleans or the cardinal du Bois ; he entered into no cabals, he made no applications, either for himself or his friends ; but seemed wholly attentive to fulfil the duties of his trust, and instantly gained an uncommon influence over the mind of his royal pupil. In the course of his employment, he omitted no opportunity of obtaining information on the domestic and foreign affairs of France, thus qualifying himself for the station which he afterwards attained.

The disgrace of his patron marshal Villeroy, which seemed likely to involve him in the same catastrophe, contributed to strengthen his influence, and perpetuate his power. Informed of Villeroy's arrest, he precipitately quitted the court, and retired to Baville, a seat belonging to his friend de Lamoignon. The young king, deeply afflicted with the loss of his governor and preceptor, refused all sustenance, took no rest, and endangered his life by the excess of his grief. In this alarming situation, the retreat of Fleury being either purposely or accidentally discovered, a letter from the king, affectionately urging his return, and another from the regent, in terms no less flattering, after some affected delays, drew him to Versailles, where his presence instantly restored the king to health and tranquillity. He resumed his office, under the duke of Charost, the new governor : and though he suffered the imputation of ingratitude for deserting his former benefactor ; yet he secretly exulted in the removal of an imperious master, and anticipated the most glorious prospects of future elevation.

Soon after this event, Fleury gave a proof of great disinterestedness, or still greater ambition, by declining the archbishopric of Rheims, the first station in the kingdom, except that of a prince of the blood ; declaring to the regent, who pressed him to accept it, that he preferred his

station about the king's person, and in the council, to all the dignities upon earth. It is likewise a striking proof, either of his prudence or his integrity, that he did not supplant the duke of Orleans, and accept the office of prime minister, offered him by the king, on the death of cardinal du Bois. He seems to have stood in awe of the regent; and even before the disgrace of his patron Villeroy, he seldom ventured, and not without great apparent diffidence, to be present in the cabinet, when the duke of Orleans transacted business with the king*, and concealed his views under an air of candour and simplicity.

Hitherto Fleury, adhering to his unobtrusive manner, had kept in the back ground; but he now became a prominent figure in the french administration. His abilities, however, were at this period so little appreciated, that he was merely considered as a learned bigot, wholly ignorant of foreign politics. Even Mr. Walpole, notwithstanding his discernment of character, did not at first sufficiently appreciate the independence and spirit of Fleury. Although he mentions him in his first dispatch to lord Townshend† as a man of great learning, abilities, and credit with the king; yet he also considered him as a creature and spy of the duke of Orleans.

Such being the state of the french court, and of the principal characters who composed or influenced the administration, the situation of Mr. Walpole called forth all his sagacity and discretion. He was embarrassed with the long-pending affair of the dukedom, he was thwarted by the intrigues and jealousy of Sir Luke Schaub, he was without a permanent official character, and uncertain, at this crisis, by whom the duke of Bourbon would be governed, or by whom the helm of State would be directed. He was urged by Schaub to pay instant court to madame de Prie; he was importuned by Bolingbroke to employ his agency with the duke of Bourbon; but he prudently kept aloof from the petty cabals of women and courtiers, and waited till the struggle of the contending parties was decided. He did not, however, neglect his duty: he obtained, in an interview with the duke of Bourbon, the strongest assurances, that
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* A la fin de ce travail où le marechal de Villars assistoit toujours, et où quelquefois l'ancien évêque de Frejus se hazardoit de rester, &c. St. Simon, t. 9, p. 96.

† Paris, November 1, 1723. Walpole Papers.

the death of the duke of Orleans would make no change in the measures hitherto pursued to preserve the union between the two nations, and formed a plan for his future conduct, to gain the party who should acquire the ascendancy. A few extracts from his interesting letters to his brother and lord Townshend will shew the uncertain state of the french court, and the motives by which his conduct was regulated.

“ The particular audience that Mr. Crawford* and I had, last night, at Versailles, of the duke of Bourbon, which gave me some, and indeed would have given me a great deal of satisfaction, had his highness in any respect an authority, credit, or capacity equal to his predecessor, or to his own inclinations ; though I think we have not at present any thing to fear, and we must be looking to see what pilot, what hands, and what materials this new and unexperienced admiral will make use of to steer under him in a season and a sea so doubtful. In the mean time I will venture, by way of speculation with you, to state the difference of the late and present situation of persons and times, and to leave the eclaircissement of them to future events.

“ The duke of Orleans had an authority by his birth, as presumptive heir to the crown, which the duke of Bourbon not only wants, but has a dangerous rival to his administration, in the person that has an unquestionable title before him. The duke of Orleans, by virtue of that right, and his own great address, had guarded all the avenues to the king, and not only kept every body in awe, and at a distance from his majesty, but had indeed made himself of late more agreeable to him than any body else. The duke of Bourbon, I am afraid, wants not only that foundation of right, but also the talents necessary to establish himself in that manner, and must expect that others will approach his majesty, and perhaps influence him too on certain occasions. His royal highness, by a great genius, and long experience in affairs, had got the better of all cabals and parties against him, and his right of succession to the crown, and had settled his own interest on so strong and extensive a bottom, that not only the tranquillity of Europe, but the interest and repose of France itself, depended upon it ; and even those that had been his enemies had laid aside their principles to become courtiers to him, which made

* Mr. Crawford was secretary to the embassy, and chargé d'affaires.

made him every day grow more popular of late, and is now generally lamented. Even the marshal d'Huxelles, who hated him most, has been heard to say since his death, that it is a pity so great a coquin should be so great a loss.

“The duke of Bourbon, as it is visibly his interest and his inclination to follow the same plan, has certainly steadiness and resolution enough, in particular points, when he has once taken his *plie* ; but as he has always been encompassed with projectors, he may possibly fall into hands and measures, that may make him uneasy in his management of civil affairs, first, and the same want of discernment, as to persons and things, may, by degrees, unwarily lead him into steps relating to foreign affairs, inconsistent with the present system, and his own interests.

“Madame de Prie has certainly a vast ascendant over him, and as she is a lady of an intriguing and craving temper, money will be her principal view ; and it is therefore thought, that the Paris's will be able to gain her, and will be consequently the duke's chief directors, as to the finances, which may indeed exclude M. le Blanc and Mr. Law, for whom his highness has certainly some inclination. * * * * *

“Morville is thought to be at present well with the duke of Bourbon, on account of foreign affairs ; and should he gain credit enough to make his opinion prevalent, and of weight with his highness, it would be of good consequence ; but as preceptor Frejus is said to have in a manner recommended the duke to his majesty to be prime minister, and is thought to be underhand in an alliance with Villars, those two, who were all complaisance and submission to the duke of Orleans, may now think of acting upon their own views and principles ; it being almost as necessary for the duke to court them, as for them to court the duke.

“Frejus is not very able, I am told, as to foreign affairs ; but a mighty bigot : insomuch that the French themselves think him too great a papist. I have learnt this day a particular instance of it, and of his being no great friend to England. The night before I was to deliver my credential letter to his majesty, l'abbé Alaric, sub-preceptor to the king, was in company with Mr. Crawford and me, and the next morning, being at his usual hour with his majesty, he talked to the king of my being to wait upon him that day, and of both of us in so kind a way as to please

his majesty, which Mr. Frejus taking notice of, stepped up, and said, *But these are enemies, Sire, to our holy religion.*

“The natural disposition and view of marshal Villars is known to all the world; war and glory are what he desires, and especially to retrieve and revenge the honour of France; and should bigotry and glory prevail in french councils, the old maxims will soon revive; but it is to be hoped, and I verily believe that apprehensions of this nature are at a distance, and before it must come to this, Torcy must be recalled, who will not be contented to act barely as a commiss; and should there ever be any good foundation for suspecting his return to business, in that case, perhaps, his majesty will think it necessary to give the duke of Bourbon notice, in a proper time and manner, of the distrusts and jealousy it must needs create in the mind of his majesty and his good subjects, in order to hinder in time his highness from taking so dangerous a step. * * * * *

“From these particulars it is not unlikely but that in some time great cabals, divisions, and parties, will be formed in this court, from whence we may at least have this comfort, that it will more than ever be not only the duke of Bourbon’s, but the interest of the other princes, rather to make their court to, than to quarrel with his majesty; and it is the general opinion here, that M. le Duc has shewn this particular mark of friendship to the marshal de Villars, in order to strengthen himself at home, without any regard to things abroad. * * * *

“The duke of Chartres†, besides his grief for the loss of his father, is certainly affected at heart for that of his right, as he thinks it, to be a prime minister, (being one of the council, and in the one and twentieth year of his age,) and to such a degree as not to be able to disguise it. * * * *

“Things standing thus, we must wait to see what may be the consequence of the stubborn coolness and indeed aversion of the duke of Chartres to the duke of Bourbon, and to what a degree he will push it. The duke of Chartres’s best friends, I am told, blame his conduct, especially as it arises in opposition to the other’s being prime minister, which

† The duke of Orleans by the death of his father.

which being an immediate act of the king himself, approved and submitted to by the whole nation, will put him not only in the wrong in the eye of the world, but be made use of to his disadvantage with the young king; but it is said that his mother, the duchess of Orleans, is inexorable against the duke of Bourbon, and animates her son in this state of enmity and defiance. Should this fatal division continue, and consequently by degrees increase, the danger we have to apprehend seems to be, lest one of those, without considering his real interest, in regard to the succession of the crown, should, for his immediate support, fling himself into the councils and power of the king of Spain, and that the emperor may, if he sees a prospect of civil disorders in France, make his advantage of them, and think of measures that may hazard the tranquillity of Europe. But it is to be hoped, that such apprehensions are so far out of sight at present, as not to prevent the conclusion of what has been so long depending at Cambray. Whether that congress may not suffer some delays, depends entirely upon the behaviour of the courts of Spain and Vienna, when they shall have known the duke of Orleans's death, and the state of affairs here.

“As to the duke of Bourbon's own conduct in his administration, and who is like to have the greatest influence upon it, you may conclude from what I have already said, that as things now stand, he seems determined to make use of the hands, and follow the steps of the duke of Orleans, relating to foreign affairs.

“But for having the chief confidence and power with him, in regard to the management of civil matters, there are great cabals and intrigues, the chief of which seems to be between madame de Prie, the duke's mistress, and the duchess of Bourbon, his mother. Their views both tend immediately to their particular profit, and his majesty's ministers should be cautious here, as yet, in their application to either, for fear of not only giving jealousy to the other, but even to the duke of Bourbon himself, as if he was to be influenced by ladies in his administration. Should madame de Prie prevail, Crawford has the means of a very good access to her; should the duchess prevail, Lassay, who is, and has been for some time her gallant, may have a good deal to say, and must be managed.

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He has been a handsome agreeable person, but has no great knowledge of business, besides that of projects and stockjobbing, which made him intimate with Mr. Law, and endeavour, not long before the duke of Orleans's death, to do him service, even to have him sent for back. But Lassay's reputation is none of the best; his father has a good character, had great credit in Louis the Fourteenth's time, and is of the stamp and principles of the old court, having been some years an humble servant to madame de Bon, Torey's sister.

During this state of suspense, Mr. Walpole first adopted that line of conduct which afterwards gave success to his negotiations, and contributed to secure the friendship of France during a period of unexampled difficulty. Though misinformed of the real views and character of Fleury, he was aware of his growing credit and influence with the king. He therefore opened a personal communication with the venerable preceptor, and obtained an interview, of which he gives an account in a letter to his brother, dated December 15th, 1723, N. S.

“The constant and assiduous attendance of bishop Frejus upon the young king, as counsellor as well as preceptor, makes it difficult to see him, unless by a particular appointment, which, however desirous I might be, I would not officiously affect to do, after the full assurance I had received already of the duke of Bourbon's good intentions, as well from himself as from other ministers and his particular friends. But Mr. Crawford and I being at Versailles on Monday morning, whither we went upon an invitation of the marshal de Villars to dine with him there that day, we did, upon an intimation of abbé Alarie, sub-preceptor to the king, of the bishop's being at his lodgings, wait upon him, and as soon as we came in, he discharged those that were about him, and ordered to be denied: after the first compliments between us were over, and he had expressed himself with a respect due to the king our master, and regard to the administration and happy state of affairs, we found an opportunity to mention the present state of affairs here; upon which he immediately gave us, in the readiest and roundest manner, the strongest assurances of the fixt resolution of his most christian majesty and his council to persevere in the same system, the same measures, and in the same good understanding with the king our master, relating to foreign affairs, as had

been pursued and brought so near to a happy conclusion by the late duke of Orleans; and he declared upon the word and faith of a bishop, there was not the least doubt, nor the shadow of any thoughts to the contrary. That as for his own part we might depend upon his being entirely of the same opinion with Mr. le Duc and Mr. de Morville in what they had assured us on this subject, and added that as a counsellor to the most christian king, the interest, welfare, and peace of his majesty's kingdoms should have the first and uppermost place in his thoughts, and when they came under consideration, he should always in giving his advice, however attached he may be to his own religion, divest himself of his cross and ecclesiastical function. He expressed himself on this occasion with so much frankness, candour, and simplicity, that truth and sincerity seemed to accompany his words, and he appeared to us in the state, he said, he should always be when consulted by his majesty upon foreign affairs.

“ He seemed not to doubt of things going well; that this sudden stroke of the duke of Orleans's death might at first occasion an alarm and ferment in all Europe; he hoped it would subside again, and things go on in their former channel, and that we should see this great work of the quadruple alliance brought to a final conclusion, by finishing the congress, in a manner, as soon as it was opened.

“ We were not wanting, you may be assured, to express our great satisfaction and acknowledgements to the bishop for having done us the honour to declare his sentiments so much for the advantage of the two nations, and for the public tranquillity of Europe, in so open and obliging a manner; and that we did not doubt but his personal credit with his most christian majesty, as well as great influence he must needs have in his counsels, would be of singular service and weight for the good purposes he had mentioned, and particularly for improving the union and confidence between the two nations: as his majesty had already given sufficient proofs of having that in view, and at heart, more than any other consideration, we might venture to assure him before hand, that he would continue in the same sentiments notwithstanding the late alteration. The bishop answered, that he was fully persuaded of what we said, but could not forbear observing, at the same time, that there was a party
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in England extremely affected to the emperor. We answered, that we had been the emperor's friends for a great many years, for the good of our own country, and preserving the balance of Europe; and that we were willing to live well with him still, but by no means to such a degree as to give into any views that might disturb the present peace, and lead us into war *de gaieté de cœur*; that upon the same principles, and for the same reasons, we now desire to live in confidence with France; that for his majesty's part he had no pretensions, no differences to adjust with any prince whatsoever, nothing to desire but the peace of his own subjects, and the tranquillity of the rest of Europe.

“Upon the whole, I think, considering the bishop's character, and the manner of his conversation with us, we have no reason to suspect but that he spoke his own real sentiments, as well as the duke of Bourbon's and Morville's, in regard to the measures to be pursued here, at least at this present juncture; and I having since seen the dutch ambassador, he confirmed me in this opinion, by letting me know that Frejus had upon the same subject spoke his mind so fully and so openly to him, that he must be the most avowed rogue in the world if he designed to deceive him, and he has not, to do him justice, that reputation.”

This conference removed the prejudices which Mr. Walpole had entertained of the opinions and character of Fleury, and laid the foundation of that intimate union which was established between two persons whose manners and deportment were opposite, but whose views and principles tended solely to promote the honour and advantage of their respective countries, and to preserve the peace of Europe. And so convinced was Mr. Walpole of the bishop's candour and integrity, that, in a letter of December 22, after expatiating on the dangers which might arise from the enmity between the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, he adds, “Nothing can be more desirable than a reconciliation between these two great personages, both for their own sakes, and for the sake of the public peace. In the mean while, I flatter myself that old Frejus has got so much possession of the king's ear and mind, as to be able to fix him to the present administration, and to prepossess him against any insinuation to the contrary.”

CHAPTER 6.

1724—1725.

Situation and Views of Lord Bolingbroke—Mr. Walpole declines his Intervention with the Duke of Bourbon—Extracts from his Letters, relating to various Conversations with Bolingbroke, on the State of Affairs in the French Court, and on his Exile—His complete Restoration by Sir Robert Walpole.

IN no instance, perhaps, did Mr. Walpole display greater sagacity and discretion, than in his behaviour to lord Bolingbroke, who now resided at Paris, and, since his dismissal from the pretender's service, had opened a clandestine correspondence with the british ministers, and essentially contributed to injure the cause of the jacobites.

In consequence of his services, he had received from Sunderland and Stanhope, promises of restoration to his estates and honours, the fulfilment of which, on their deaths, he claimed from Townshend and Walpole, and his solicitations were countenanced by the influence of the duchess of Kendal, and of his friend lord Harcourt, who had recently made his peace with the ministry. His marriage with madame de Villette, niece of madame de Maintenon, having facilitated his intercourse with the french court, his interposition was considered as highly important; in May 1723 his pardon passed the great seal, and he was enabled to return to England, but without the restoration of his estate and peerage.

After passing some months in England, where he paid the most abject court to Townshend and Walpole, with the hopes of obtaining a full restoration to his estates and honours, he returned to Paris. On the death of the duke of Orleans, the british ministers, eager to avail themselves of his intimacy with the duke of Bourbon, instructed Mr. Walpole to employ his intervention in promoting the continuance of the union between the two courts. Bolingbroke, eager to extort his restitution, by becoming the principal channel of communication, importuned Mr. Walpole
with



Bolingbroke

HENRY VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE

From an Original at Petworth

with his offers to negotiate directly with the duke of Bourbon, and particularly to employ his influence in the affair of the dukedom. In the course of his conferences, he continually reverted to the uneasiness and uncertainty of his situation, and expressed his hopes of restoration; he affected to renounce his connection with the Tories, professed his inviolable attachment to the Whigs, and declared his fixed resolution to act in subservience to those who restored him to his country.

Mr. Walpole, aware of his object, and conscious of the danger of entrusting the affairs of England to a person of his versatile and ambitious character, declined his overtures, by representing the difficulty of carrying the reversal of his attainder through parliament, notwithstanding the support of the ministers. Lord Bolingbroke appeared to yield to these reasons; but expressed his wish, that the ministers might so far obtain the reversal of his attainder, as to enable him to inherit his paternal estate, which Mr. Walpole agreed to represent to his brother.

Two letters from Mr. Walpole to his brother will display his extreme caution, and shew the address by which he succeeded in declining the mediation of Bolingbroke, and in transacting the business directly with the duke of Bourbon himself.

Paris, Dec. 15, 1723. "Tom Roberts brought me your letter of the 29th instant, which I own did not so much surprise (Brinsden being the forerunner of it) as it did concern me, finding myself once more upon a precipice, to avoid the danger of which greater discretion and abilities than I am master of are certainly required. As you prudently avoided writing to lord Bolingbroke, had you likewise endeavoured to gain time, until you had heard from me, relating to the situation of affairs, I should have escaped easily the great difficulties which I now apprehend, and made a good use of my lord Bolingbroke's information, without having given him any handle to be the negotiator of his majesty's affairs, and by degrees endeavour to make himself the necessary instrument between the two courts; the consequences of which are too obvious, on many accounts, to your understanding, to make it needless for me to mention. For I have seen him since the death of the duke of Orleans several times, received several lights from him, have been very open and friendly in my
conver-

conversation with him ; but as he never offered, so I never intended to desire him to take a part in doing his majesty service with the duke of Bourbon, as being by no means wanted, and, as I hinted before, leading to great inconveniences.

“ But Brinsden is come with a letter from lord Harcourt ; Tom Roberts is likewise arrived with a letter from you, to back, as lord Bolingbroke must naturally think, what the other has wrote and recommended ; and as the devil would have it, his lordship and Tom entered my room at the same instant, and I having perused your letter before him, let him know that it referred to something that lord Harcourt had wrote to his lordship by Brinsden. Lord Bolingbroke immediately read to me, aloud, (Crawfurd being by,) that part of lord Harcourt’s letter relating to the great services he, Bolingbroke, was thought to be capable of doing at this juncture, by his acquaintance and intimacy with the duke of Bourbon, and with a seeming modesty, and a good deal of art, said that it was some time since he had been intimate with his highness ; however he would go immediately to Versailles, and wait upon him, and see what is to be done : then in the sequel of this discourse began to chalk out ways and schemes by which he could become acquainted with madame de Prié, or others that might stand fairest in the duke of Bourbon’s favour, and by that means endeavour to be useful to his majesty, if it was thought proper ; and he would seem to appear rather indifferent than over fond of such a commission, taking it for granted, at the same time, as if this had been an application to him. But I confess this was the first time I have seen, since I have been here, any real satisfaction or pleasure in his countenance. After a short conversation, in which I had no great share, he desired me to dine with him to-morrow, which I did not decline, for fear of making him suspect a coolness in me on the subject of your letter. But I shall, in the best manner, decline any further offices from him after this visit of his to the duke of Bourbon. I have fully apprised Mr. Crawfurd, who is his friend, and wishes him well, of what consequence it may be to let lord Bolingbroke into the management of his majesty’s affairs here, and he seems very sensible of it. And now fortune and my stars direct and protect me, once more, in this critical juncture ! and if ever I become an itinerant minister again, I know whose fault it is.”

“ Decem-

“ December 16. Yesterday, as I have hinted to you already, I went to dine with my lord Bolingbroke, and before we sat down to table, he took Mr. Crawford and me aside, to acquaint us with the conversation he had with the duke of Bourbon, at Versailles, in which his highness having expressed his resolution of living with the same confidence and union with his majesty, and upon the the same foot of friendship with him as the duke of Orleans had done, he took an occasion to ask his lordship, whether he had seen the king's ministers here, and hoped they were well satisfied with him. His lordship replied, he had seen Mr. Walpole and Mr. Crawford, who had declared themselves extremely pleased with the assurances his highness had given them. Upon mentioning my name, his highness said, his brother in England was one of great capacity, in conducting well the home affairs there; but had little or no concern or influence in what was to be transacted in foreign courts. His lordship, on this occasion, did you justice in all respects, and gave his highness to understand, that whoever was looked upon to be so considerable as you are in the administration, did not fail to have his weight in council, upon foreign as well as domestic affairs, though it was not the immediate business of his own department. His highness answered, he was informed, that lord Carteret was the person who had the chief and only care and direction of the things abroad; his lordship replied, that lord Townshend had immediately by his station an equal concern in the management of them.

“ The duke of Bourbon, after this discourse was over, took an occasion to mention to lord Bolingbroke M. de la Vrilliere's affair of the dukedom, as what Schaub had been very solicitous with him to have immediately done, as what his majesty would certainly expect, on account of the letters he had wrote, and were delivered to the duke of Orleans, before his death, and had since, though unopened, fallen into his highness's, hands, who is prime minister. The duke spoke of Schaub with a good deal of contempt, but talked of this affair in such a manner, as though desirous, on one side, to know his majesty's real sentiments, yet more uneasy, on the other, lest too great a delay should look as if he neglected to do in a handsome manner what his majesty might perhaps have much at heart. I think it is plain, from lord Bolingbroke's discourse, that the duke of

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Bourbon,

Bourbon would do it with pleasure, if he thought it would oblige the king. From what the duke of Bourbon said, in relation to the ministers in England, it is plain that Sir Luke Schaub, by himself, or his friends, is endeavouring, by insinuations, to make impressions and distinctions of his majesty's ministers, in favour of such only as he looks upon as his chief patrons and supporters; and whether he does this with a view to his majesty's service, or his own, in particular, I leave you to judge.

“ But to return to lord Bolingbroke. After he had finished his account of his discourse with the duke of Bourbon, he said that he had made this step at the desire of our friends in England; but that he had two reasons why he thought it not proper to engage himself too far, and be very busy in our concerns here. The first, as what perhaps might be of no great use to his majesty at present; the second, on account of his situation, being in a constant uneasiness and suspense, about what may be, or may not be done for him in England, and where, how, and with whom he is to pass the rest of his days.

“ I laid hold of what he said to let him know I thought he talked extremely right, and that it would be unreasonable to expect that he should exert himself here, for the service of England, without knowing what he might depend upon from thence, which I said it was impossible for me to tell him at present. He seemed well enough satisfied at what I had said; but yet I must observe to you, in confidence, that I believe, by his countenance and manner of speaking, he was in hopes of greater encouragement, and exhortations from me to engage him in our service, than I would venture to give him; and hinted as if time and circumstances might offer an opportunity of being useful. But I let this matter rest there, and I hope there will be no occasion to review it again, it being my opinion that this court seems entirely disposed to live well with his majesty, and I don't doubt but they themselves think his majesty's friendship as necessary to them as theirs can be to his majesty, at least as things stand now. The insinuations, therefore, that may be made to you, by the friends of Mr. Law, or even of my lord Bolingbroke, of their being capable to be useful to us at this time here, is no otherwise so, than as we think fit to make it to ourselves. And I don't see that it can be in their power to do us any harm,

harm, unless we officiously put it into their power to do us good ; not but that we should continue to shew them all outward civilities and regard, they being already upon that foot with us."

" Paris, December 29, 1723, N. S. * As I intimated to you in my last, lord Bolingbroke, after he had told me he expected to be sent for by the duke of Bourbon in two or three days, went the day after that discourse to Versailles, and being returned, he made me a visit on Sunday evening, and told me that he had seen his highness, who, after having talked with him, in great confidence, of some disputes and difficulties about his particular affairs at court, &c. he opened his mind to him upon that of the dukedom demanded for M. de la Vrilliere, and expressed himself extremely embarrassed with a thing of this nature in the beginning of his administration, by which he found himself either under a necessity of disobliging his majesty, to whom he would gladly give the most early proofs of his zeal for his service, or else of pushing an affair which might be difficult for him to obtain, and be attended with great inconveniences in regard to the nobility of France. The young king had been already prepossessed, and spoke against it; Frejus opposed it, and had treated M. de la Vrilliere with a great deal of freedom upon it; all the men of quality, as it came in their way, shewed their aversion to it, with much more to the same purpose relating to the nature of the thing, as what the duke of Orleans had represented to me on that subject, adding some severe expressions about the impertinence of Sir Luke Schaub in never letting him alone upon it.

" Lord Bolingbroke asked his highness, why he did not speak to me, whom he was pleased to represent as a person more proper to be talked to upon a thing of such nicety and consequence, and might be better able to inform his highness of his majesty's real sentiments, and to make him more easy under these difficulties? His highness paused some time, and said, No; he would not speak to me, lest such a conversation should draw upon him a new letter from his majesty, which might lay him under a stronger obligation to execute the thing, before he knew whether he was able to do it, than he was at present, in the way it had come to his hands: but after some discourse he gave his lordship authority to sound me, as
from

* Orford Papers.

from himself, whether his highness could talk to me on this subject without any such risk, and let him know my answer.

“ Lord Bolingbroke having finished his relation, immediately with great vivacity and pleasure told me I never could have such a glorious opportunity to lay a foundation of merit and confidence with his highness, to shew how his majesty has been imposed upon and deceived by Schaub, and to destroy the credit of lord Carteret, who must have been at the bottom of this whole matter.

“ This encouraging discourse of his lordship, joined with the general precaution I had framed to myself not to be led into any matter of moment and confidence under his lordship’s management and conduct, gave me time to recollect, and to let his lordship know, that I was extremely obliged to him for his good intentions to put me into a way of credit and esteem with his highness; but I was afraid the opportunity he proposed was of too nice a nature for me to make use of for that purpose: I was not entirely convinced that Schaub had deceived his majesty as to M. le Duc’s own disposition to the dukedom for la Vrilliere; because by the account his lordship had given of his former conversation with his highness on that subject, as well as what I had heard from others, had made me believe that M. le Duc himself had been favourably inclined towards it. I took the case to be, that the ladies had engaged him, before the late duke of Orleans’s death, to give his consent, at least acquiescence to it, when it should be proposed in council, and afterwards, at his first coming to the administration of affairs, they may likewise have touched him in a lucky moment, and obtained a renewal of his former assurances; but his highness having since taken the affair as prime minister into his serious consideration, and consulted with others, as well particular friends, as persons that must be concerned in doing it, finds the advice and disposition of every body against it, and himself intangled with inextricable difficulties, which made me apprehensive that the most cautious conversation of mine with his highness on so delicate a point, in the negotiation of which I had had no share or concern, might be turned afterwards to my disadvantage in case the thing did not succeed. But I was on the other hand extremely concerned lest M. le Duc should take ill my declining to see him on the foot and in the manner desired; for, although

his lordship was to speak to me as from himself, yet as it arose from a conversation that he had with his highness, and his lordship was to carry an answer back to him as to my disposition, in this case I was afraid that the difference between a message directly from the duke, and what his lordship said to me, was so small, that his lordship's report of my conduct might make an impression to my prejudice in his highness's mind, which was a thought extremely grievous to me, especially at this juncture; but I could not tell how to avoid it, but by leaving it to his lordship's management to give it the most favourable turn he could.

“ I perceived his lordship extremely uneasy at this discourse, and with the air of a person the most disconcerted and disappointed I ever saw : he told me that he had no other view in this affair but my particular service and that of my friends, and, after strong professions (for which I gave him no occasion) to that purpose, and of his being himself very indifferent in the matter, said he wished he had not embarked so far in this affair, and since I looked upon it in the light I did in relation to M. le Duc, he must beg on his part not to be involved in the fault should the thing take a wrong turn at last. That Sir Luke Schaub, as he was certainly informed, had said, that he (lord Bolingbroke), by my instigation, had spoiled this affair in the duke of Orleans's time; and that therefore he hoped I would do him justice, if there was occasion, with you, as to his having never had any concern in it, but what had accidentally fallen to his lot lately in the manner I knew.

“ I told his lordship that he need not be under the least uneasiness on that account; Schaub's malicious insinuations against his lordship, myself, Mr. Crawford, and others, on this occasion, would, I was persuaded, have no weight with his majesty, or his ministers in England; and he might depend upon my representing this matter in such a light as to prevent any prejudice against him. His lordship concluded with telling me he would let his highness know, that he found me so close and uneasy in talking to me on this subject, that he did not think proper to push me to speak out; and he would do it in such a manner that M. le Duc should have no reason to be disoblged, and to take it ill of me.

“ It is possible that in reading what goes before, you may at first view think I was too nice and refined in declining the opportunity flung in my

way to know M. le Duc's sentiments, and perhaps of establishing a confidence and merit with him. But when I foresaw it must have been done under the protection in a manner of my lord Bolingbroke, who, by his own address without my seeking, had got so far into this business, and must in this way have been master of the whole secret and of my sentiments about Schaub and somebody else*, (who, I think, have most grossly deceived his majesty in this whole transaction,) as also have had the whole credit to himself with his highness, and turned the matter as he should find occasion to his own service and advantage, and perhaps laid a foundation with M. le Duc for being the canal through which the english affairs of confidence might pass for the future: these reflections made me avoid his lordship's proposition, by convincing him (with a great many acknowledgements for his kindness to me) that I was afraid to embark and hazard myself in a transaction of this nature, which had been under the sole care and management of another, without any concern on my side, besides that of declaring myself for it as occasion required; and I am persuaded his lordship, by my behaviour, went away satisfied of this being my only view.

“In the mean time I had resolved with myself, as being sufficiently authorised by lord Townshend's letter to me of the 9th December, to make the best advantage I could, for his majesty's service, of this hint from lord Bolingbroke, without his knowledge or intervention. I went the next day to Versailles, and having, by the means of the marquis de Livry, obtained a private and secret audience of M. le Duc, I begged his pardon for troubling him in a manner and at a time so unseasonable; but hearing that his highness was much embarrassed about the affair of the dukedom for M. de la Vrilliere, if he would be pleased to let me know his sentiments and intentions upon it, I would venture and was able to give him a true state of his majesty's part and concern in it. He immediately said he would do all he could in it. I answered, that I was glad of it, but that I was obliged to tell him that this affair did not arise originally from his majesty's application and request, and it was never in his majesty's intention in the least to have it mixed and entangled with business of a public nature. At which he seemed a good deal surprised, and asked me
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* Lord Carteret.

how that matter stood? I then began to lay open the whole affair, by communicating to him what had passed between the late duke of Orleans and me upon it, of which I find he had already got some account, (and I don't wonder at it, because the present duke of Orleans has certainly declared he knew that his father would never have done it, and had let his majesty know how much they had both been imposed upon.) But, says his highness, what answer have you to this from the king? I then imparted to him what lord Townshend wrote to me in his letter of 28th November, recapitulating all the several steps and proceedings in it, and during the whole time M. le Duc seemed extremely astonished at the conduct of Sir Luke Schaub and the french ministers in a thing of this nature. I then intimated to his highness, that I had in some measure exceeded my orders, in going so far without his having spoke to me first upon it: he asked me whether I had not had a hint of it from somebody else? I told him then what had passed between lord Bolingbroke and me, and how I had declined to give into the proposition coming from his lordship, letting his highness know that I and all my family had a personal regard and esteem for his lordship, and would do him what service they could in their power; yet his highness would easily conceive that his lordship's present situation makes him by no means a proper person for me to intrust with matters of such confidence, and therefore I hoped he would be so good to me as to let this audience be entirely a secret to lord Bolingbroke, I having not given his lordship the least reason to suspect that I had any thoughts of waiting upon his highness.

“M. le Duc, in the most obliging manner, gave me his word, which I might always depend upon, that his lordship should know nothing of it. I then intimated to him that I hoped my own behaviour, as well as the credit I may presume to have with the king, my master, would procure me the honour of his confidence and commands in any thing where their mutual interest was concerned, which I should endeavour to deserve. M. le Duc said several kind things to me on this occasion, with thanks for what I had imparted to him, of which he would consider, as also what could possibly be done in this business, and accordingly I should hear from him in a few days; but that he must then wait on the young king, having already

ready exceeded by a quarter of an hour the time when he is obliged, and never fails, to make his court to his majesty.

“ Having given you an account of my conduct and my reasons for it in a situation I think none of the easiest, I must submit it to better judgments, and expect the advice and direction of others for my future behaviour; for I plainly foresee, that though I carry myself towards my lord Bolingbroke in a very civil and friendly manner, he must, upon reflection, conclude that I do not enter into his views and actions so heartily as he could wish: and I must observe at the same time, that his lordship has so familiar an acquaintance with the companions of M. le Duc, and is so personally esteemed by his highness, that he may be able to come to the knowledge of things of great moment.”

“ December 30. Since writing what goes before, lord Bolingbroke is returned from Versailles; and by the account he has given of his conversation with M. le Duc to Mr. Crawford and me separately, we have both reason to conclude that his highness has been faithful to me, and not given his lordship the least intimation of my having been with him.”

Thus the address of Mr. Walpole relieved the ministers from the embarrassment under which they would have laboured, had they employed the agency of Bolingbroke; and he returned to England, to solicit his restoration, without any claim on their gratitude.

I have in a former work* given anecdotes of lord Bolingbroke, and endeavoured to account for the motives which induced Sir Robert Walpole to promote the bill for restoring him to his family inheritance, and enabling him to purchase estates within the kingdom. I likewise observed, that he owed this favour to the influence of the duchess of Kendal, whom he had bribed with 11,000*l.* and that the minister promoted the bill in conformity with the express injunctions of the king. But, for want of authentic documents, I could not ascertain whether the failure of his complete restoration was owing to the opposition of Sir Robert Walpole. Some papers, however, which have since fallen under my notice, prove that the minister was threatened with his dismissal if he did not promote the return of Bolingbroke, and that he compromised the business by consent-

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* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 25.

ing to the restitution of his family estate ; but counteracted and prevented his complete restoration ; a fact which sufficiently accounts for the indignation of Bolingbroke, and his unceasing enmity to the character and administration of Sir Robert Walpole.

This exclusion of Bolingbroke from a seat in the house of peers, which might again have placed in his hands the helm of State, called forth the warm eulogium of archbishop Herring, who observes in a letter to Etough, “ Bolingbroke was so abandoned in all respects, that I have always and shall reverence Sir Robert Walpole for setting his face full against him*.”

* Etough from Sir Robert Walpole ; and Archbishop Herring to Etough, dated Sept. 11, 1753.

CHAPTER 7.

1724.

Embarrassments and Uneasiness of Mr. Walpole from the Jealousy of Sir Luke Schaub, and the Affair of the Dukedom—Extracts from his Letters—Appointed Ambassador to the Court of France—Schaub recalled, Carteret removed, and the Duke of Newcastle appointed Secretary of State.

THE perspicuous and interesting accounts which Mr. Walpole gave of the principles and characters of the french ministers, his address in gaining the confidence of the duke of Bourbon and count Morville, and his growing intimacy with Fleury, impressed the king with a favourable opinion of his talents for negotiation, and the brother ministers considered his continuance at Paris as necessary to further their views for the removal of Carteret. But the intrigues of Schaub, and the difficulties which Mr. Walpole experienced from the affair of the dukedom, rendered his situation extremely irksome, and his private correspondence is filled with complaints. After detailing his embarrassments in a letter to his brother, dated December 15, 1723, he continues, “ I must therefore earnestly request of you, not for my own only, but for the sake of his majesty’s service, to obtain for me immediate leave to return into England, since my continuing here can be of no use, but to make a ridiculous figure, as well as Sir Luke Schaub. The whole french court begins to perceive what is impossible for me to prevent, that we look upon each other, and act, as if we were ministers of two different courts; for in the present juncture, where there is no particular business of a public nature depending, but the chief aim and view must be to get the best informations we can, from all parts, relating to the continuation or change of ministers and measures, his way of talking, answering, and concluding, upon

upon persons and things, is generally so different from mine, that I can't possibly act with him, in waiting upon ministers, or others of distinction, nor in any other step necessary for his majesty's service. And yet when I am at Versailles, he is so kind and assiduous an attendant upon me, ready, if I please, to introduce me to madame de Prié, the duchess of Bourbon, and others that may stand fairest for M. le Duc's favour, he being intimate with all these persons; and he is so fond of me, as not to be willing to make a visit without me, nor to let me make any visit without him. This simple appearance, of us two, begins to make the company smile upon one another, whenever we are together." After expatiating still further, on these mortifications, he concludes, "My heart is too full on this disagreeable subject to dwell any longer upon it; and therefore I must insist upon your interceding for my return into England; because I assure you I have so much to say, that cannot possibly be wrote, of service to the king, and to his ministers, especially to those that I know, that I am persuaded my being in England as soon as I can, would be of more use than my continuing any longer here."

The affair of the dukedom increased his agitation, and exposed him to still greater embarrassment. The letter, which details his conversations with lord Bolingbroke, and his secret interview with the duke of Bourbon, sufficiently shews the difficulties which attended that delicate negotiation. In a second audience the duke likewise exposed the obstacles to the measure, the aversion of the young king, and the opposition of the nobility; he also severely commented on the conduct of Schaub, for endeavouring to entangle it with affairs of State. These declarations convinced Mr. Walpole, that all attempts to obtain the dukedom would be fruitless, and that the king's honour would be compromised, by any further application. Impressed with this conviction, he writes to lord Townshend, January 5, 1724: "Can your lordship read, and consider a moment, my present and late dispatches, relating to the dukedom, and be surprised at my pressing to get home? If your lordship did imagine I might have been of service to his majesty at this juncture, must not that imagination prove vain, if, while I am ordered to explain his majesty's real sense and sentiments in an affair, Schaub takes upon him to act in that very same affair, as a minister, in direct opposition to those senti-

ments, and with so much assurance and importunity, that it is impossible it should be thought here, he wants authority, support and encouragement to do it? Who has the credit, and who is to be believed? Is not this an agreeable situation for his majesty's interest, at a court which is the centre of the greatest affairs in Europe? I confess I am so weak, that, not for my own, but his majesty's sake, it grieves me to the soul." Unable to obtain the removal of Schaub, the brother ministers hoped to relieve Mr. Walpole's uneasiness, by procuring for him the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary; but, in consequence of his peculiar situation, this honour increased instead of removing his embarrassments, and he expresses to his brother his resolution not to deliver the credentials:

" Dear Brother,

Paris, January $\frac{20}{31}$, 172 $\frac{3}{4}$.

" If some hasty expressions fell from my pen, last night, you must attribute it to the disorder I was in upon the receipt of your letter of the 12th and 13th, which struck me all of a heap: my heart was full, and is still so, even ready to burst; and upon mature thoughts of a restless night, my sentiments are still the same, that the step you have taken to make me more easy, and some amends for not getting Schaub recalled, will make my situation more uneasy, and less capable to act for the service of his majesty, of my friends, and myself.

" Whether you were able to succeed in the attempt for recalling Schaub, and whether that success might not be attended with the ill consequences you apprehended, you certainly are the best judges. But to think the character you have obtained will give such marks of distinction as must bring all the credit and confidence of the court and ministers to center in me, is the weakest of imaginations; for it cannot fail of having, if I take it upon me, a quite contrary effect.

" A minister that is occasionally sent to act here, by virtue of a letter of cachet, as plenipotentiary for his master, is considered as having the credit and perhaps the secret of his court, and is regarded accordingly; but as soon as he is invested with the lowest character, that is admitted here, the friends under whose protection he is sent, are looked upon as not having the chief interest at home, or as having a mean opinion of the person they send. This is so true, that no crowned head, nay no republic, ever employs

employs a minister in France, that they intend shall have credit, but that they make him ambassador extraordinary, or let him act as plenipotentiary by virtue of a private letter; that of a public envoy being no ways considered or respected here. This may look like pride or partiality in me; but I am afraid the application is too strong in the present case, with this difference only, that the credit and confidence I had at first by a private letter, is by the continuation of Schaub, and the support he has met with from friends at home, displayed in a proper manner, by his airs and insolence, already become doubtful and precarious, and, should I take upon me the public character of envoy, will be sunk to nothing; so that I cannot possibly rest any longer here, in either capacity, with honour, or be of any use at all.

“ For some time the circumstance of being related to lord Townshend and you, and of being known to several foreign ministers of the first rank, the little reputation of my own, as to foreign affairs, gave me immediately credit and attention, and, in the minds of all sensible persons, foretold with pleasure the fall of Schaub; but he having had time to recollect himself, his being engaged in a transaction that his majesty has secretly much at heart, has suspended the judgment of people, and begins to make them imagine it a doubtful case who has the credit at home, Townshend or Carteret, or who the credit abroad, Schaub or Walpole. Several little incidents, too trifling in themselves to name, which he improves to his own advantage, and which I scorned to take notice of, thinking the essential stroke would come at last, have contributed to this opinion; and however mortifying this honour done to me may be to Schaub’s patron, Schaub himself will have assurance enough to despise it; for as it is in itself here no great honour, he will say with justice, it only puts me upon an equal foot with him; he has already the pay of it, and nothing but his being a foreigner has hindered his having that and a greater character too. That as I had at first only a full power to sign the accession of the king of Portugal, so I have now the character of envoy, to enable me to act in some cases where he cannot; but the secret is still with him, and that will be soon seen. This is his language, and I am afraid the consequence will prove it too true; and you yourself will be startled when you read in the inclosed paper, marked No. 1, concerning an intrigue I

have discovered carrying on, and is to be put in execution by count de Buy*.

“The circumstance of that gentleman’s being sent as ambassador to England, and of my being declared about the same time envoy extraordinary in France, will confirm all I have said, and expose my relations and me to the greatest degree.

“The pitiful circumstance of all the dispatches wrote to us both jointly being carried (I suppose by private intimation to the messengers) to Schaub directly to Versailles, being opened by him first, and communicated to Morville, or other ministers there, before I know any thing of the matter; the dispatches for Spain and Cambray being inclosed to him, perused by him, forwarded by him, and made such use of as he shall think fit, without my communication or knowledge, I have thought hitherto below me to take notice of, and ’tis too late to do it now.

Hæ nugæ seria ducunt

In mala.

* * * * *

He adds, “In short I am determin’d not to deliver my credentials, but have wrote a letter to lord Carteret acknowledging the receipt of them, and have given such a turn to it that I dare say you will not be uneasy at it, and therefore I send you a copy inclosed. His letter, by the bye, was the most dry, not to say the most impertinent, I ever read from a secretary of State to a minister; but that don’t trouble me at all. I have wrote a letter to you, marked No. 3, on this occasion, that perhaps you may not think it amiss to be imparted to his majesty, although it is conceived in terms as designed only for yourself.”

While the contest in the cabinet was depending, lord Townshend, unable to effect the removal of Schaub, or procure the character of ambassador for Mr. Walpole, prevailed on him to restrain his impatience, and to submit to these temporary mortifications. But Sir Luke Schaub, anxious to retain his situation at Paris, and aware that his continuance depended on the decision of the french court, relative to the affair of the dukedom, renewed his importunities to the duke of Bourbon,

and

* He alludes to an attempt of Sir Luke Schaub to procure the count de Buy the title of ambassador through the influence of madame de Prié.

and fed the king with hopes that he should ultimately succeed through the interest of madame de Prié, who was no less anxious to procure a dukedom for her husband. This illusion continued two months, and was finally dissipated by the candid and explicit avowal of the duke of Bourbon to Mr. Walpole, of which he transmitted an account to lord Townshend.

March 7, 1724. "Having not paid my court to the duke of Bourbon a considerable time, I waited upon his highness the same evening, read to him lord Carteret's letter, expressing his majesty's satisfaction at the manner in which the design of building a key at Mardyke had been communicated by the french commissioners at Dunkirk, and declaring that the king has no objection to it. The duke of Bourbon made a suitable return of his sense of his majesty's goodness, and desired me to assure him that the king should always find the same marks of confidence and friendship towards him in all his actions; and then having paused for some time, he said, "But I am afraid I have disoblged the king in an affair where I did all that was in my power to comply with his desire." Finding me a good deal surprised, as I really was, he said, "I mean that of making M. de la Vrilliere a duke, for I perceive that his majesty seems very much to wish that it might be done. When this matter first came before me," continued he, "I turned it every way in my thoughts, and was resolved, upon the earnest and repeated solicitations of Sir Luke Schaub, to do whatever I was able to bring it about, though I can assure you I never gave him any promises or engagements that it would be done. At last, when I found that the more I considered it the more I was embarrassed, and that the steps I took towards it plainly shewed that the difficulties were insuperable, I was determined to give his majesty a natural and true state of the affair relating to my own situation, as well as the french king's sentiments upon it; and even since I received your master's answer, by which I find he still wishes it might be done, I have again mentioned it to the king; but find no possibility of succeeding in it.

"I told him I hoped his highness would not make himself uneasy on this account, notwithstanding the esteem that his majesty has for some of the persons concerned, might make him willing to obtain such an advantage for their family, especially after it has gone so far, yet his highness knew

very well it was never the king's intention to make this a matter of state, or embarrass his administration by it. And I dare say his majesty was convinced that his highness had personally used his good offices and credit to have it done: he added on this, that he knew, if the duke of Orleans had lived, it would never have been done, and that his majesty, as well as his late royal highness, had been deceived and imposed upon in the management of it; and let fall some expressions of resentment and contempt at Schaub's conduct and importunity. What the duke said to me upon this occasion I don't look upon as designed I should represent it from him to his majesty; but as unbosoming himself, not being able to contain his concern, lest his majesty should be made to believe he had not done all that lay in his power to oblige him.

“ I have since learnt, my lord, from undoubted intelligence, that Sir Luke Schaub himself now thinks this unfortunate business quite desperate, as to the dukedom; but that he has set another project on foot, in favour of madame de la Vrilliere, as a recompense for this disappointment, which is to get her made *Dame de Palais* to the infant queen, a greater honour, and still, more than the other, beyond what that family and quality can expect. However, Schaub is looking out precedents, to make this succeed; but as he will be able to find none, so I am told, the young king is already prevented and set against it.”

The day after this audience Mr. Walpole again expresses to his brother his impatience to return: “ I hope, before you receive this, you will have seen Mr. Poyntz, and have come to some certain determination about me and my little friend; it is impossible for me to continue in this state of acting jointly any longer, and therefore either he or I must be recalled.”

Notwithstanding, however, these repeated remonstrances, and the efforts of the brother ministers, the influence of Carteret still protracted the disgrace of Schaub; till Mr. Walpole, in consequence of private instructions from lord Townshend, though not without great reluctance, wrote an ostensible letter, exposing his conduct, and urging the necessity of his immediate recal.

“ My Lord,

Paris, March 22, 1724.

“ I am persuaded I need not convince your lordship of my readiness and zeal to serve his majesty, in any station, and in any manner, he shall



Jan 8 car House
Yrs *Thomas Holles*

THOMAS HOLLES DUKE of NEWCASTLE

From an Original in the Possession of the Earl of Chichester

shall be pleased to direct; which zeal for his majesty's service, and the experience of five months, obliges me to let your lordship know, that it is impossible for the king's interest to be carried on so effectually, as I could wish, as long as Sir Luke Schaub and I are to act jointly together here. I have no personal pique against him, having industriously avoided (notwithstanding the provocations I may have had) all disputes with him, that we might not expose ourselves, in prejudice to his majesty's affairs; yet our way of acting and thinking, in regard to persons and things, is so very different, that I cannot live in any confidence or intimacy with him; and I am at the same time so constantly attended, watched, and observed by him, when I go to Versailles, that it is impossible for me to cultivate and settle such a correspondence and credit with persons of the chief authority here, as might be useful for his majesty's service, and not at all difficult to obtain, were I entirely free and independent of Sir Luke Schaub.

“Had Sir Luke Schaub, by an extraordinary capacity in business, and by a suitable conduct and behaviour as a minister, acquired any reputation or particular esteem at this court, I am sure I should readily submit my judgment to his in every thing, and earnestly desire that the management of his majesty's affairs should be entirely trusted in his hands. But if I may venture to speak plain to your lordship, in confidence, and as my near relation, he is so far from having such a character, that he has rendered himself odious to many, and disagreeable to every body, and were it not for his majesty's commission here, he would make a very inconsiderable, I had like to have said a contemptible figure, in the eyes of all, as well french as foreigners.

“Did I not find this by my own observations to be true, I would scorn to have mentioned it at all; having no other motive for doing it but a serious concern for his majesty's honour and service, which, in my conscience, I think never can be supported as they should be, while Sir Luke Schaub is employed here.”

This letter produced the desired effect; Mr. Walpole was nominated ambassador, and Schaub was recalled. Soon afterwards Carteret was removed from the office of secretary of State to the government of Ireland; he was succeeded by the duke of Newcastle, and the ascendancy of the brother ministers became uncontrolled.

CHAPTER 8.

1724.

Influence of Mr. Walpole in excluding Torcy from the French Councils—Views of Philip the Fifth on the Crown of France—Embassy of Marshal Tessé to Madrid—Abdication of Philip—Conferences with Fleury on that Event.

EXCLUSIVE of the embarrassments arising from the influence of lord Carteret, the jealousy of Schaub, and the affair of the dukedom, the embassy of Mr. Walpole was pregnant with difficulties which might have discouraged the most able negotiator. He was to prevent the ill consequences which seemed likely to arise from the enmity of the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, without giving umbrage to either; he was to keep the court of France steady to their engagements with England, to manage the unbending spirit of the imperial ministers, to counteract the intrigues of Spain, and, above all, to take all necessary precautions to secure the succession of the french crown in the house of Orleans, provided Louis the Fifteenth should die without issue.

One of his first and successful measures, which prevented a change of system, was the exclusion of Torcy from the department of foreign affairs. His nomination was secretly promoted by the duke of Bourbon, who, anxious to obtain the assistance of a person of his experience and capacity, by means of his agents underhand suggested to Mr. Walpole, that the principles of Torcy, in respect to the succession of the crown of France, were changed, and that his admission into the ministry would not affect the connection between the two countries. Among others, even Bolingbroke became an advocate for Torcy. In a conference with lord Bolingbroke, in which he hints at the removal of Frejus, Mr. Walpole says, “I asked him, in case Frejus should be removed, in whose hands the credit and conduct of affairs would chiefly fall, considering

dering the weakness of the first minister? He shrugged up his shoulders and said, 'I can't tell; his highness would certainly be at a loss: Morville is an honest man, but is by no means of a genius equal to the prime direction of affairs:' and after some other broken thoughts and imperfect discourses, being upon his legs to go away, he let fall, that perhaps Torcy, when all is said and done, might act in a right way for the present system. Upon which I, in the strongest manner, laid home to his lordship the *letter* as mentioned above, and appealed to him whether it was possible to conceive that Torcy had altered those intentions, or whether it was not impossible to make the english nation believe it? His lordship replied, 'What you have urged is very strong, and I can't tell what to say to it;' and owned that M. Torcy had himself not long since in conversation, upbraided his lordship with his having insisted, when secretary of State, upon king Philip's making then his immediate choice of the crown of France or Spain*."

But Mr. Walpole made the strongest remonstrances against his appointment, and did not desist until he had obtained positive assurances from Fleury that he should never be employed.

Mr. Walpole gave no less striking proofs of his influence, by preventing the french court from allowing the duke of Ormond to make a temporary residence in France, and prevailing on Fleury not to receive a visit from bishop Atterbury. But the point in which he surmounted the greatest difficulties was to counteract the intrigues of the spanish party, and preserve the succession to the crown of France in conformity with the treaty of Utrecht.

Philip the Fifth, considering his solemn renunciation of the crown as an act of nullity, resolved to assert his right to the succession, should Louis the Fifteenth die without issue; and the duke of Bourbon, in consequence of his enmity to the house of Orleans, was inclined to promote his claims. At this particualar juncture he nominated marshal Tessé, who was friendly to the lineal descent, ambassador to Madrid, with a view, as it was suspected, to settle the terms of his eventual succession.

While

* Mr. Walpole to lord Townshend, Paris, January 12, 1724.

lord Bolingbroke, about the nullity of renunciations, see page 27.

With respect to Torcy's celebrated letter to

While the english ambassador was labouring to procure intelligence concerning the real object of this mission, and to thwart the designs of Tessé, through the medium of Fleury, the unexpected abdication of Philip filled Paris with surprise and alarm. The first notice of this extraordinary event was communicated to the english court by Mr. Walpole, in a dispatch to lord Townshend, dated Sunday night, January 23, 1724; in which he describes this act as wholly unknown to the court of France, and only the effect of religious melancholy. Notwithstanding these assurances, lord Townshend having expressed his suspicion that the abdication was concerted with the duke of Bourbon, and that Philip purposed to retire into France, Mr. Walpole proved, from the conduct and astonishment of the french ministry, that there was no collusion between the two courts. He did not, however, neglect his usual precaution; but with extreme address drew forth the opinion of Fleury, and secured his promise to oppose the eventual accession of the king of Spain.

“ On Tuesday,” he says in a letter to lord Townshend, of January 23, “ I made a visit to bishop Frejus, at Versailles, (when the news began to take air,) and as company came in, and I was taking my leave, he took me aside to the window, and spoke of the abdication, with his eyes and hands lifted to heaven; with the greatest agony and surprise, he let fall, in imperfect sentences, how untimely it was, how prejudicial it might prove to the present system, and particularly to the french interest. Spanish councils, spanish measures might take place, he added, but he hoped the union between England and France would still subsist, as more necessary than ever. I told him, he might depend upon that. ‘ Ay,’ says he, squeezing me earnestly by the hand, ‘ but in a stricter manner if possible; and something new should be found out for that purpose.’ ”

In a subsequent conversation, during a private conference, the bishop expressed his conviction that no person in France was previously acquainted with Philip’s abdication; and in another still more confidential, which I cannot withhold from the reader, declared his resolution to prevent his retiring into France, and that he had secretly obtained a promise from the young king to that effect.

Paris, March 7, 1724. “ Being, as I have hinted to your lordship in some of my former letters, upon a foot of friendship and familiarity with

bishop Frejus, without affecting to see him often, and talking in confidence to him when I do, I made him, after a considerable absence, a visit on the 4th instant at Versailles. * * * * *

“In discoursing with him about Spain, I had an opportunity to ask the bishop, whether they had any news of marshal Tessé’s arrival? He said, No; but that he had received a letter from him, from Bayonne, in which the marshal had given him a sort of a wipe, in telling him, that he would find upon his arrival ‘*qu’il n’endosseroit pas le golilio, mais qu’il seroit bon françois.*’

“As I pretended not to understand the meaning of that phrase, he explained it, by telling me, that before Tessé set out from hence, he, the bishop, had suggested to the duke of Bourbon, to insist upon the marshal’s engagement, not to take the least steps that might be a prejudice to the renunciation; but to pursue only his orders, relating to the interest of France, in respect to Spain; that as the marshal knew that this doctrine came from him, the bishop, he had made use of this way of speaking to let him know that he had not forgot his instructions.

“Considering the natural principles of the bishop, as a jesuit, and his former intimacy and acquaintance with the ministers of the old court, one would not think that he should have the renunciation, and the separation of the two crowns, much at heart. Indeed I never heard him mention them once to me till after the abdication of king Philip, and ever since that he has often spoke to me very earnestly upon them, as the foundation and corner-stone for the tranquillity and peace of Europe, and took this occasion to let me know that we cannot be too careful not to suffer the least attempt to weaken that scheme.

“I asked him, then, whether he thought there was reason to apprehend any danger of that nature? He said, No; but that he was determined in these principles; that there having been a rumour as if king Philip might desire to come to France for the air and his health, although he was persuaded there was no manner of grounds for it; yet he thought fit to represent to the young king the inconveniences and embarrass that such a thing would occasion, as well as an alarm and an umbrage to the most considerable powers in Europe; and therefore he had prepared his majesty to give an absolute refusal, should a proposition of

that nature be insinuated to him, by any one; 'for,' says he, 'it is certainly right to frame and prepossess the minds of young princes in matters of consequence to their government.'

"I told him, I had heard formerly of such a report; but that I thought the reasons of State in respect to all parties in France, as long as the young king was well, were so obvious against it, that I did not think it worth taking notice of: however I was not wanting, my lord, to applaud the bishop's conduct and wisdom in his care and management of his royal pupil; and it is certain that, upon the least hint of any thing that may be thought of to be done, the bishop is early to give the king such impressions as he thinks proper about it, of which he finds the effect by the king's steadiness to him without a rival."

Fleury also acquainted him that "the steps taken already at Madrid, in the administration of affairs, were entirely spanish; that *l'etiquette espagnole*, which had been disused, under the french government, as to the regulation and proceedings of the court and councils, was renewed; the antient formalities and spanish puncto, for the hours of the king's rising, praying, dining, and giving audiences, and attending the public affairs, were already put into practice; and in short, that the great monarchy of Spain, by returning to its former preciseness and grandeur within itself, would become indifferent, and of no use to the rest of Europe*."

The english ambassador, however, though fully convinced of the candour and sincerity of Fleury, did not wholly rely on his assurances; but discovered the sentiments of the duke and duchess of Maine, of marshal Villars, and other persons of the spanish party, and found them impressed with the greatest contempt of Philip's bigotry and weakness. "These particular facts," he justly observes to lord Townshend, "collected from the mouths and actions of those who must have had the principal contrivance and management of any political scheme, to be the consequence of Philip's abdication, are such strong proofs to the contrary, that I thought your lordship would excuse my troubling you with them; especially since I find that Flanders, Holland, and even Spain itself, are not without their speculations to the same purpose. At Amsterdam they are as much in alarm and confusion as if king Philip was actually at Paris; whereas, if I

can

* Paris, Feb. 9, 1724. Walpole Papers.

can make any judgment of the sentiments of all sorts of people here, should the present young french king die to-morrow, the duke of Orleans would succeed immediately to the crown, and Philip's interest and right would not so much as be named, or enter into any body's head*."

Fortunately for the peace of Europe, the views of Philip on the throne of France were defeated by the premature death of his son Louis, to whom he had resigned the crown by the dismissal of his daughter, the infanta, and the subsequent marriage of Louis the Fifteenth, which again tore asunder the bond of union between France and Spain, and cemented still closer the connection of France with England.

* Paris, Feb. 9, 1724. Walpole Papers.

CHAPTER 9.

1724—1725.

Dismission of the Spanish Infanta, the intended Bride of Louis the Fifteenth—Views of the Duke of Bourbon in favour of his Sister—Opposition and Conduct of Fleury—Alarm of the Duke of Bourbon on the French King's Illness—Proposals for an English Princess; declined by George the First—Mr. Walpole's Correspondence—His Conferences with Fleury—Marriage of Louis the Fifteenth with the Daughter of Stanislaus Letzinski.

THE conjectures concerning the abdication and resumption of the crown by Philip the Fifth, had scarcely subsided, before new reports of the dismissal of the infanta, and projects for the marriage of Louis the Fifteenth, attracted the public curiosity, and gave a new source of embarrassment to the english ambassador.

The accession of Spain to the quadruple alliance was principally owing to a secret article between Philip and the duke of Orleans, which equally favoured the interests of both parties. Louis the Fifteenth was affianced to the infanta, Mary Anne; and the Prince of Asturias, afterwards Louis the First, espoused Elizabeth, fourth daughter of the regent. The infanta being only in her fifth year, the hopes of an heir to the french crown were deferred to a distant period; and the eventual succession to the throne of France was still open, to which Philip, notwithstanding the most solemn renunciations, always looked with anxious expectation.

On the death of the duke of Orleans, the french nation entertained hopes of dissolving a match ill calculated to promote the security of France, and the tranquillity of Europe. The marshals Villars and d'Uxelles, and many of the french ministers, hinted to Mr. Walpole the probability and propriety of such a measure, and even Fleury himself expressed a wish to delay the solemnization of the fiançailles.

The

The duke of Bourbon was most embarrassed what conduct to adopt on this delicate occasion. He was on one side interested in promoting the marriage of the young king with the infanta, and in preserving the succession in the line of the princes of the blood; because, in case of the decease of the king and the duke of Orleans, who were both unmarried, and of infirm constitutions, he was next heir to the throne. On the other side, the implacable enmity of the duke of Orleans rendered his accession an alarming event. The duke of Bourbon had, therefore, only the choice of two alternatives; one to promote the eventual succession of Philip, and his son by the first wife, to the throne of France, and to settle the crown of Spain on his children by Elizabeth Farnese; the second, to send back the infanta, and to marry the young king to a princess of mature age*. On his first entrance into the administration, he was inclined to promote the claims and to secure the friendship of the king of Spain, and, with this view, had deputed marshal Tessé to convey the strongest assurances of his fidelity and attachment†. Soon, however, the general wish of the nation to provide a suitable consort for the king, and his increasing animosity to the duke of Orleans, who was recently married‡, induced him to adopt the resolution of dismissing the infanta. He accordingly communicated his intention to Fleury in 1724, and proposed his own sister mademoiselle de Sens; but the bishop opposing this match, and urging the impropriety of irritating Philip, while the negotiations at Cambray were pending, the duke acquiesced, and postponed the execution of his design. Things remained in this state of suspense until the dangerous illness of Louis the Fifteenth revived his apprehensions, and he determined to counteract the succession of the duke of Orleans, by marrying the king to a princess of mature age. St. Simon relates a striking anecdote of his extreme agitation on this critical occasion§.

Finding

* Mr. Walpole to lord Townshend, Decem. ber 22, 1723.

† *Memoires de Montgon*, tom. 3, p. 222.

‡ The duchess of Orleans married her son to the princess of Baden, without the knowledge or approbation of the duke of Bourbon, which increased his animosity.

§ *Le roi Louis XV. etant tombé malade sous le ministère de M. le Duc, effraya tellement le prince ministre, quoique le mal ne fût pas menaçant, qu'il se releva une nuit en sursaut, prit sa robe de chambre, et monta dans la dernière anti-chambre du roi : il étoit seul avec une bougie à la main, et y trouva Marechal qui,*

ctonné

Finding the opposition of Fleury to his sister's marriage with the king insuperable, he directed his attention to the other princesses of Europe, and selected Anne, grand-daughter of George the First, who was in the sixteenth year of her age, and possessed great beauty and accomplishments. It is not easy to trace the precise period and origin of this choice; but it probably arose from female intrigues; for, in May 1724, Sir Luke Schaub, in his audience, on returning from Paris, offended George the First, by indiscreetly proposing a marriage between the french king and one of the english princesses*; an overture made at the instigation of madame de Prié and madame de la Vrilliere, with the concurrence of lady Darlington, and the secret co-operation of lord Carteret. On Fleury's first rejection of mademoiselle de Sens, it appears that the duke of Bourbon entertained thoughts of the princess Anne, with a view of securing the assistance of England against the vengeance of Philip; but, from apprehensions that the princess could not be induced to change her religion, did not venture to make a formal proposal.

Soon after the king of France's recovery, at the suggestion of count Broglio, the french ambassador in England, he was encouraged to make an indirect overture to George the First. Broglio having insinuated to the countess of Darlington the resolution of the duke of Bourbon to dismiss the infanta, and his own embarrassment in the choice of another consort; she replied, "Why do you amuse yourself with trifles, and why do you not instantly demand one of our princesses for the young king? I have reason to believe that your proposal would not be rejected."

In consequence of this hint, the french ambassador, being ordered to request a private audience, communicated to George the First a letter from the duke of Bourbon, announcing, under the seal of the strictest secrecy, the resolution of dismissing the infanta. He then begged leave to suggest a thought of his own, for which he requested his majesty's indulgence. "Knowing, as I do," he added, "the anxious desire of the duke

étonné de cette apparition, alla à lui, et lui demanda ce qu'il venoit de faire. Il trouva un homme égaré, hors de soi, qui ne put se rassurer sur ce que Marechal lui dit de la maladie, et à qui enfin d'effroi et de plénitude il echappa; *que deviendrai-je ?* en repondant tout bas à son bon-

net de nuit : *Je n'y serai pas repris; s'il en rechappe, il faut le marier.*" Oeuvres de St. Simon, tom. 8, p. 198.

* The duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, May 25, 1724.

duke of Bourbon to unite the two crowns by the strongest ties, and having been eye-witness of the great and invaluable qualities of the princess Anne, I must beg leave to express my wish, that your majesty would give her in marriage to the king my master, which will be so much for the honour and interest of both kingdoms, that, if it can be accomplished, nothing will be able to disturb the tranquillity, or oppose the views of the two crowns." The king replied, that notwithstanding the advantage of such a match, and his earnest desire of taking every opportunity to shew his regard for the king of France, and improve the good correspondence subsisting between the two crowns; yet the objection on the point of religion being insurmountable, he must decline the acceptance of the proposal.

Broglie, not checked by this repulse, communicated his proposal to the duke of Newcastle and lord Townshend, and earnestly exhorted them to employ their influence over the king, in favour of the match; nor did he desist until they proved that the king's attachment to his religion could not be shaken, and that the marriage of any branch of the royal family with a Papist was contrary to the established laws of the kingdom*.

While this negotiation was pending, various reports were circulated at Paris, that a match with an english princess was concluded; and the refusal of the duke of Bourbon to affiancé the young king to the infanta, at the stipulated time, seemed to confirm these rumours. "This news," says the english ambassador, "was no sooner known, but it was in the mouth of all sorts of people, that the infanta was to be sent home immediately, a match being concluded between the french king and one of the young princesses of England; and if she was actually arrived at Calais for that purpose, the discourse would scarce be more positive, and more

* "We acquainted him," writes the duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, "with the main view and end of the revolution, and protestant succession, which was the preservation of the protestant religion, in these kingdoms; and shewed him, by the general exclusion of the Papists, in the first act of king William, confirmed by the present act of settlement, whereby

no Papist of his present majesty's family, nor any other prince or princess, of that religion, or that should intermarry with a Papist, were capable of succeeding to the crown; how liable to the greatest censure such a step would be, in this country, and how highly criminal those would be thought who should presume to advise it." Whitehall, March 12, 1725.

more generally believed. Several stories are told, even by people that should know better, of the manner in which this affair has been negotiated. Some derive it from a management antecedent to my being minister here; others attribute it to the intrigues of various ladies, at this and at the court of England; but the more general applause and honour of it, though undeservedly, is given to me. Your grace will easily imagine, who knows what a stranger I am to any thing of this affair, how much I have been embarrassed, these two or three days, how to behave myself, without appearing embarrassed at all. Numbers of all sorts of people have been very watchful and observing of my countenance, words, and carriage, and have endeavoured to turn me all ways, by various questions and insinuations; some by making me compliments; others by desiring my protection here at court, as if the thing was actually done. But my conduct, I hope, has been even, decent, and irreproachable, without clearing up their doubts, or saying any thing that might give credit or discredit to it*.”

In this state of uncertainty, Mr. Walpole, on the 6th of March, was informed by Morville, that the infanta was to be dismissed; and this information was confirmed the same day by Fleury, who requested a secret conference on a subject of the highest importance and delicacy. This conference took place on the 13th at Versailles, and proved to the english ambassador the confidence which the bishop reposed in him. After recapitulating, under the strongest injunctions of secrecy, the events which had led to the dismissal of the infanta, and stating his own objections, not to the expediency, but to the precipitation of the measure, he acquainted him with the proposal to be made by Broglio, and detailed the motives which induced the duke of Bourbon to demand an english princess.

He then stated his own opinion as adverse to the match, which he considered as disadvantageous to both nations. “As to France,” he said, “where the unity of religion is absolutely necessary, I am apprehensive that the eldest princess, having been educated in the principles of the protestant religion, to the age of sixteen, under a mother, who, from attachment to that religion, rejected the hand of the emperor, would retain an inward

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, March 13, 1725, N. S.

inward sense and zeal for it, notwithstanding any abjuration which she might be induced to make for the sake of a crown. Her secret attachment to that persuasion might encourage the Jansenists to concur with the Protestants, still remaining in France, to foment internal troubles, in regard to religion. But should the king die first, and she become regent, and have the education of the children, no one knows the divisions and disturbances it might occasion. Neither do I see, in point of policy, that any good would accrue to this nation, nor any prospect but what might portend a rupture, or perhaps a war between the two nations; and at present the situation of Europe renders it the interest of both to maintain a stricter union and harmony together.

“ As to Great Britain, the policy, religion, and constitution of the government are adverse to such a match. France can never receive a queen, unless she becomes a Roman Catholic, and it would be inconsistent with the dignity of England to consent to the marriage of one of the royal family to a catholic prince, without her having the liberty to enjoy and exercise her religion, in her own way; an indulgence always granted to the catholic queens of England since the reformation. But, as I am informed, the laws of England are against a match of this nature, founded on the experience of the ill consequences that have ensued from thence; having suffered the greatest convulsions only by the marriage of one of their kings to Roman Catholics. But should an english princess, after embracing the roman catholic religion, or any of her children, have a title to the crown of Great Britain, they might, notwithstanding any renunciation or exclusion by act of parliament, pretend to the succession; and the bare possibility of the great troubles which might overwhelm, or at least constantly threaten the british nation, are, though distant, yet too terrible to be incurred.

“ The people of England may be jealous lest so near an alliance with so considerable a power as France in their neighbourhood may endanger their liberties, which might have been their fate, had the late king James accepted the offer of an army from Louis the Fourteenth. Persons of all parties and principles in England would join in one general cry against it. The Jacobites would be outrageous, because it would be constantly the greatest stroke to their present, as well as distant views, in favour of the

pretender; the disaffected would consider it as the most popular topic for clamour, and those that are affected to the present establishment, in church and state, would think the reasons, with regard to the religion and constitution of their country, of greater weight than any political reasons, however plausible. It would create, in general, such a diffidence, fears, and jealousies in the minds of the people, as might render his majesty's government uneasy for the future, and put it out of his power to be of that use, in conjunction with France, for the preservation of the peace of Europe, as the present situation of affairs requires; and I will freely own to you, it is the real interest of France, at this juncture, that the king of England should enjoy the greatest security and tranquillity at home. Lastly, I apprehend that the protestant powers abroad will be extremely dissatisfied, and jealous of such an alliance.

“ These are the reasons which occurred to me upon this great crisis, and determined my opinion that France should not demand an english princess, because the appearance of a refusal, which I apprehend will be the case, may have an ill effect on our present good understanding; and though it is intended that the overture should be made by the french ambassador, or to his majesty's, as only coming from the duke of Bourbon, in his private capacity, yet even that would, if known, be regarded as little less than a request. But since my opinion did not prevail, I deem it advisable that you should represent what I have said, as the sentiments of some persons of sense and consequence, without mentioning my name; for I am anxious that nothing should be done which may tend in the least degree to shake the harmony subsisting between the two crowns. And as you are fully apprised of the state of affairs here, it may not be thought too forward in you to suggest, that, upon the french ambassador's mentioning this matter to his majesty, he might be told by the king, in that engaging and obliging manner natural to his majesty, that nothing in the world would be so agreeable to his inclinations as such an alliance, and so fortunate for the public good of Europe at this juncture, would the religion and constitution of England suffer it to be done; and though the difficulties, on that account, were insurmountable, yet he would continue to cultivate and promote the union between the two crowns with as much earnestness as if the additional obligation of what

had been hinted could possibly take place. I likewise hope, that if you dispatch a courier on this occasion, he may arrive in England before count Broglie will have proceeded any further than to communicate only the resolution of sending back the *infanta*.

“He concluded his discourse,” adds Mr. Walpole, “with repeating to me his utmost concern and apprehensions of what may be the consequences of this whole matter being precipitated with regard to Spain, and the present posture of affairs in Europe. All the terrible ideas of a rupture with that kingdom, of a marriage between the prince of Asturias and one of the arch-duchesses, and of the great advantages that would accrue to the emperor, seized him at once; and I could perceive, too, that the fear of disobliging the pope, who will not have been consulted, or acquainted by France, with the affair, until it is publicly talked of, had no small share in his concern. * * * * *

“I then asked him whether he did not suspect, from the whole management of this affair, that M. le Duc’s chief, and perhaps only aim, was to bring about, at last, the marriage of his own sister with the french king. He told me that it might be so; but as long as he had the least influence with his most christian majesty, he would oppose it to the last. I then concluded with my particular thanks to him for his steadiness in preserving the union between the two nations, desiring him to direct his utmost credit and application to that great view, as what might become more necessary than ever. I concluded with expressing my apprehensions (which I hope are groundless) that this affair may end in the disgrace or retreat of Frejus from all business, being strongly persuaded that M. le Duc had never laid aside the thought of marrying his sister to the french king, and that his pretending to seek a match in England, and suffering it to be talked of, by all sorts of people, in so public a manner, is not so much out of a desire to have it done, as a justification of his sending away the *infanta*, at this juncture, in having provided a suitable and honourable match for his most christian majesty, which, in the case of his sister, would not have been so popular in the nation, nor have so good an appearance in the eyes of the world*.”

On

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, Paris, March 13, 1725.

On the 16th a confidential communication of Broglio's proposal to the king, and his majesty's answer, was transmitted by the duke of Newcastle; "all which," Mr. Walpole says, "I received with that deep sense of satisfaction, gratitude, and duty, for his majesty's unshaken steadiness to the religion and laws of our country, that is due from a true protestant, and a loyal subject." Speaking of his next interview with Fleury, he observes, "I found bishop Frejus very glad, as he told me he had been very impatient to see me; and he expressed immediately his great satisfaction at his majesty having, as he had seen by count Broglio's relation, given an answer to the proposal of the marriage, so prudent, and so worthy of himself, with regard to his own conscience, and the constitution of the kingdom he governs, as well as to the union and friendship between the two crowns. I then acquainted him how extremely pleased his majesty was with his way of reasoning (of which I had given an account to your grace without naming him) on this subject, and that the king had acted entirely agreeable to his sentiments, without knowing them. I acquainted him at the same time with his majesty's sincere intentions to do all in his power to pacify the indignation of Spain*."

Fleury then hinted that the daughter of Stanislaus Letzinski, titular king of Poland, was most likely to become the consort of Louis the Fifteenth; but reiterated his resolution of retiring from court, should the duke of Bourbon succeed in recommending his own sister.

The answer of the duke of Newcastle to this insinuation will shew the high confidence which the english cabinet reposed in Fleury, and their full reliance on his friendship: "I cannot conceal from your excellency the great concern that his majesty shews at the hint, in the latter part of your letter, that this affair may possibly end in the retreat of bishop Frejus from public business, whereby the french king would lose a most able and faithful servant, and his majesty a sincere and steady friend. The king is the more touched with this, it being very probable that what you say would undoubtedly be the cause, if it may happen to be the case, both from the accounts you send, and from the manner in which M. de Broglio talked yesterday to the king, who could not forbear expressing his
desire

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, March 28, 1725.

desire that the king his master, since he could not have one of our young princesses, might be married to mademoiselle de Sens*; though at the same time he owned there might be in it some difficulty upon M. le Duc, he having been the occasion of sending back the infanta.

“ If this should happen, his majesty would have you use your utmost credit and interest with bishop Frejus to dissuade him from so rash and unadvised a step, and lay before him the ill consequences that may arise both to France and England from such a resolution; as also the uneasiness that it would afterwards be to him, if any thing should happen, for want of his assistance, that might alter the good correspondence between the two crowns, to which he has so much contributed †.”

The resolution, however, of Fleury was not put to the test; his influence with the king was sufficiently powerful to counteract the project of the duke of Bourbon in favour of his sister. But he acted with extreme caution and dexterity, and though he excluded mademoiselle de Sens, whose elevation might have given the preponderancy to the interest of the duke of Bourbon, yet he did not interfere in the choice of the bride, lest any dislike of the young king to his consort might expose him to future reproach. The views of the duke and madame de Prié were accordingly directed to Maria Letzinski, daughter of Stanislaus, who was twenty-two years of age, not deficient in beauty, and whose situation and character seemed likely to render her wholly dependent on those who had contributed to her elevation. To this choice Fleury made no opposition; and as the king testified a total indifference, the marriage was solemnised on the 15th of August.

In arranging the household of the new queen, madame du Prié was to be dame du palais; Paris Duverney, secretaire des commandemens; and the place of grand almoner was offered to Fleury. The bishop, however, objected to the appointment of madame de Prié, and even proposed to the duke of Bourbon that she should receive, but decline the offer, as
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* St. Simon, and the Memoirs of Richelieu, erroneously mention mademoiselle de Vermandois, fourth sister of the duke of Bourbon, as the person in whose favour he solicited the match, and attributed its failure solely to the intrigues of madame de Prié, without even hint-

ing at the opposition of Fleury.—St. Simon, tom. 11, p. 201, and Memoires de Richelieu, tom. 4, chap. 6.

† The duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, March 11, 1724-5.

more honourable to her than the place would be advantageous. He communicated this circumstance, in confidence, to Mr. Walpole, and expressed his resolution to refuse the place of grand almoner, as he could not, in honour and conscience, live in a family encompassed with such creatures as madame de Prié, and Duverney, who had been a common soldier in the guards. Mr. Walpole strongly dissuaded him from this rash resolution : “ You cannot,” he said, “ do greater service to the persons for whom you entertain so just an aversion, as you will throw the whole power of the queen’s household into their hands, and they will nominate a creature of their own in your place. The interest of France, as well as your own honour and conscience, exact it of you, not to take this unadvised step. When the queen is settled in France, a new scene may open. I have no doubt but your capacity and virtue will act the chief part, and an opportunity may offer of destroying the credit of those whose principles and actions are inconsistent with the dignity of the crown*.” The repeated exhortations of Mr. Walpole finally succeeded, Fleury accepted the office of grand almoner, although madame de Prié was nominated dame du palais, and Duverney secretaire des commende-mens.

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, April 27, 1725.

CHAPTER 10.

1725.

Resentment of Philip the Fifth on the Dismission of the Infanta—His Negotiations with the Emperor—Treaties of Vienna and Hanover—Influence of Mr. Walpole in the Councils of France—Retreat and Recall of Fleury.

THE dismission of the infanta, and the indiscreet manner in which it was announced by the abbot de Livry*, inflamed the vengeance of the king and queen of Spain, and precipitated the execution of those measures which they had previously meditated.

In 1720, Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance; and, in pursuance of that treaty, a congress of the ministers from the contracting powers was held at Cambray, to settle the contested points between the Emperor and Philip, under the mediation of England and France. But the letters expectative, for the eventual investiture of Don Carlos, to the succession of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, which the emperor promised to expedite within two months after the ratification, were not delivered till November 1723; by which delay it was evident that he wished to elude the performance of his engagements.

George the First, however, deemed himself bound in honour and justice to execute, in concert with France, his engagements in favour of Don Carlos; but the emperor, long accustomed to blind complaisance from Great Britain, expected that an elector of Hanover, upon that throne, should be still more subservient to his views and desires, and accordingly resented the king's fidelity to his engagements, as an insult. At the same time the haughty spirit of Elizabeth Farnese, who governed the counsels of Spain, was irritated against the mediating powers for not compelling the emperor, by force of arms, to settle the points in dispute.

Spain

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 27.

Spain and the emperor being thus equally dissatisfied, the negotiations of the congress, which opened at Cambray in January 1724, were languid; and the french and english ministers in vain endeavoured to relax the unbending spirit of the imperial, or overcome the diplomatic punctilios of the spanish plenipotentiaries. In fact the court of Madrid had, in November 1723, deputed Ripperda to Vienna, and tendered, without the knowledge of the mediating powers, overtures of reconciliation to the emperor, who lured Elizabeth Farnese with the hopes of obtaining an arch-duchess in marriage to one of the spanish infants.

Such was the state of the imperial and spanish courts, when the dismissal of the infanta excited the resentment of Philip, and his vindictive queen, against France. They recalled their plenipotentiaries from Cambray, and offered the sole mediation to England. But the british cabinet, sensible of the advantages derived from the french alliance, and faithful to their engagements, had no sooner declined this insidious offer, than the court of Spain suddenly closed the long pending disputes with the emperor, and on the 1st of May Ripperda concluded the treaty of Vienna.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to detail the articles of this treaty, some of which were secret, and hostile to the trade, possessions, and constitution of England, as well as to the interests of France and Holland. Great preparations were made by the emperor and Spain; Russia was induced to enter into the alliance, and the princes of the empire solicited to join the standard of their chief. These hostile appearances occasioned a series of negotiations, which terminated in the treaty of Hanover, concluded between England, France and Prussia, to which Holland and Sweden afterwards acceded.

Having, in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, detailed the origin, motives and tendency of that treaty, it will be sufficient to observe, that the complicated negotiations, which occupied every power in Europe, ultimately centered at Paris; and their successful termination was principally owing to the address of the british ambassador, who managed with equal dexterity the irresolute character of the duke of Bourbon, the dilatory temper of Morville, and the supple, insinuating, and cautious spirit of Fleury.

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The difficulty of influencing the french cabinet was increased by the alarms of George the First, by the ardent temper of lord Townshend, and by the anxiety of the british ministry to counterbalance the active efforts of the emperor, with equal vigour on the side of the allies. They did not appreciate the delicate situation of the french ministers, who, though aware that the union between the two crowns secured the internal tranquillity of their country, were naturally averse to an open rupture with a prince of the house of Bourbon, the uncle of their king, whom France, at an enormous expence of blood and treasure, had placed on the throne of Spain. Hence their conduct was occasionally lukewarm and wavering, and only roused to vigour and resolution by the manly and repeated representations of Mr. Walpole.

It would be unjust to the merits of Mr. Walpole, to withhold the eulogium of the duke of Newcastle towards the conclusion of the Hanover treaty: " I am now to congratulate your excellency upon this great work's being brought so near a conclusion, which his majesty cannot but look upon to be as good as finished: and I cannot but take a sensible pleasure in the great share your excellency has had in it. Your diligence and prudent conduct, and your great abilities, in executing the several commands you have received from his majesty, upon this subject, have been taken notice of by the king, and which I cannot forbear, now we are so near seeing the happy effects of them, mentioning to your excellency, in the manner that so important and so acceptable a service deserves*."

Mr. Walpole was principally indebted for his success to the influence of Fleury, whose predominance in the french cabinet he duly appreciated. Impressed with full conviction, that the duke of Bourbon owed his office to Fleury, and held it only by his forbearance, he resisted the solicitations of the british cabinet to be more assiduous in his court to the ladies who were supposed to govern the duke of Bourbon, from just apprehensions of being drawn into their cabals, and of offending his venerable friend. The dispatches of the british ambassador justify his motives, and contain too many instances of Fleury's ascendancy to be enumerated:

* The duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, Sept. 26, 1724.

merated: one anecdote, however, which he records in a letter to lord Townshend, Jan. 13, 1734, is too curious to be withheld from the reader:

“ The duke of Bourbon is indefatigable in his application to gain the young king’s confidence; but he finds Frejus has the first and strongest hold there, insomuch that when his highness seeks proper opportunities to talk to his majesty alone, as soon as he begins to be serious, the child diverts the discourse of business by idle actions and ordinary chit-chat, until Frejus, whom he never fails to call for, can have notice or time to enter the room, which goes to the duke of Bourbon’s heart, as not knowing what to do, being justly apprehensive that should he endeavour the removal of the bishop he would fail in the attempt.”

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Hanover, an incident happened at Versailles, which justified the sagacity of Mr. Walpole, and of which he transmitted an interesting account to lord Townshend:

“ My Lord,

Paris, Dec. 24, 1725.

“ On Tuesday the 18th instant, being the day of the week on which the foreign ministers go to Versailles, to make their court to their most christian majesties, and to have their audiences of the ministers, Frejus, notwithstanding he had invited some company to dine with him, and notwithstanding the most tempestuous weather of wind and rain that ever was known, went early in the morning to his country-house at Issy, near Meudon, about an hour’s distance from Versailles, having left word at his lodging that he should not return that night. These circumstances of his sudden departure, joined with others, which some assiduous courtiers had observed the night before, and particularly that of his most christian majesty, the queen and M. le Duc being locked up a considerable time together in the queen’s closet, occasioned a general whisper of the bishop’s being retired altogether from business; but his return early the next morning to Versailles, and appearing at the king’s levee, as usual, soon put an end to that report, though not without some speculation of what might have been the motive of so quick a departure, as well as return to court; of which I am able to give your lordship a full and true account. But before I do it, I beg leave to trouble you with the situation of the court since the first arrival of the queen at Fontainebleau.

“ Your

“ Your lordship doth not want to be informed, that ever since M. le Duc’s administration, madame de Prié and M. du Verney have had the chief credit and confidence with his highness in the management of affairs; while bishop Frejus, more immediately attached to the personal care and service of the french king, and seeking no other favour and support, spoke his mind in council as became a minister of State, and to M. le Duc in private, not as a flatterer, but as it became a friend. Although his highness did at times, by the instigation of others, entertain some uneasiness and jealousy of the bishop with respect to power, yet the candid behaviour of M. Frejus, entirely void of ambition or self-interest, immediately set all matters right again, and in the mean time they continued to live and act together with a perfect understanding. The bishop assumed no other part of the administration than that of giving his advice in matters of state and moment, which was generally so reasonable and just, that as M. le Duc reaped great advantage from it, so he appeared well satisfied and pleased with it. Thus things continued to go smoothly on until the marriage of the french king.

“ The disappointment of having a princess of England to be queen of France, and no suitable match, for birth or religion, immediately occurring, at a time when the french nation expressed the greatest impatience to have their king married, madame de Prié and M. du Verney, under the authority and credit of M. le Duc, turned their thoughts to find out a person, who, by the great obligation she should have from such an unexpected honour, would become entirely attached to the interest of those who were most instrumental to procure it. Nobody’s situation seemed more proper to answer that end than that of king Stanislaus’s daughter, and in all likelihood it was as easy to obtain from her such assurances and conditions of attachment and friendship, as it was to get her consent to the marriage. In the mean time bishop Frejus appeared purely indifferent and passive in this affair, not being willing, perhaps, on one side to dissuade the king, his master, from marrying at a time when the whole french nation cried aloud for it, nor on the other to recommend a person to him who, by the inequality of her age, as well as of other circumstances, might some time or other prove not so agreeable to him.

However sensible the queen might be of their merit who had the chief
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hand in making her so, it was generally thought that her gratitude would have extended no further than to the person of M. le Duc; that the character of madame de Prié and M. du Verney, so notorious for intrigues of all sorts, could not be unknown to her; and that she would naturally reflect how dangerous it might be, considering the difference of her age and beauty from that of the king, to strengthen and support the interest of those who would not fail to fling in the french king's way, and promote the first pleasurable views, however disagreeable they might be to the queen, that his majesty might shew the least inclination for. On the other hand, the known probity and virtue of bishop Frejus would have disposed her to seek and cultivate a particular friendship and intimacy with him, whose principles, as well as immediate confidence and credit with the young king, might make him both willing and able to cement a mutual affection between their majesties, and secure the queen from any apprehensions of a rival. This was so sensible and obvious a part, with regard to her own interest, that it was scarce to be doubted but she would readily embrace it; and the bishop's station in being her first *aumonier* would not fail of giving her an opportunity to do it whenever she pleased.

“ Upon her majesty's arrival at court, either all the persons that could possibly have the least approach by their place to the queen, were entirely gained by madame de Prié, or the avenues of access to the queen were so guarded that none but that lady's devoted creatures could come near her majesty, without being immediately interrupted; at which she herself pretended to be uneasy, and to complain that she was encompassed and besieged on every side. Having continued a long time without taking the least notice of bishop Frejus, scarce shewing common civility, she gave some of his friends to understand that she detested madame de Prié, that she had the greatest veneration for him, and was desirous of his friendship; but begged he would have patience, not knowing which way to turn herself for fear of madame de Prié, and, through her, of obliging M. le Duc, to whom she was so much obliged, and who was so very powerful.

“ In the mean time the bishop continued to go on, in his old way, as preceptor and minister of State, in waiting upon and advising his majesty alone, at the usual hours, and in constantly attending at the times appointed

pointed for M. le Duc to do business with the king, without being wanting in due respect to her majesty, and without pressing a more particular intimacy and friendship with her, until she should think fit to give him sufficient encouragement to do it; he being, in his temper, by no means a sycophant or courtier, to press himself forward before he was sure of an agreeable reception. To such of his friends as did exhort him to make his approaches to the queen, he would say, that they did not know the situation of things at court; and he has often told me, that notwithstanding her private intimations to him, of being his friend, he was sure that she was intirely delivered up into the power of madame de Prié, and M. du Verney, by the means of M. le Duc, who had of late more than ever put himself under the absolute government of those two persons, notwithstanding the general murmur of the whole court and nation against them.

“The bishop was the only person of consequence that durst boldly and openly oppose their formidable power, which he has done, not only to his friends, but also to the king, and even to M. le Duc himself; declaring freely to his highness, that he looked upon madame de Prié, and M. du Verney, as enemies to the State, and as authors of all the disorders, weakness, and confusion, both in the finances and other matters, that exposed the present administration; and that as his honour and conscience obliged him to speak so plainly to him on this subject, so the reputation and credit of his highness should oblige him to free himself from the slavery and influence of such evil counsellors. But the bishop preached on this text in vain; for M. le Duc being immoveably fixed in his attachment to those two persons, constantly took their part, and to such a degree that he and the bishop have often come to very high words on this subject. I have learnt from the bishop, that his highness lately told him, he valued his honour and conscience as much as the bishop did his, and for that reason he would support those that would risk their all, and even their lives for him; and if madame de Prié and M. du Verney must perish, he would perish with them.

“This was bringing matters to a very close point. The bishop had certainly not the least thought of breaking with M. le Duc, or of endeavouring to displace him; not knowing whom to put so conveniently in his room, and being firmly determined not to take upon himself the weight

of the administration. He was also sensible, perhaps, that he should have a difficulty in doing it with the french king himself, to whom M. le Duc is certainly become agreeable enough, by the good offices first of M. Frejus, and by an habitual attendance upon his majesty, taking care never to thwart, but constantly to entertain and humour the king, in all his little pleasures of hunting from place to place. These considerations, I believe, made the bishop decline to push matters to an extremity with regard to madame de Prié and M. du Verney, continuing still in the same sentiments and discourse on their account as occasion offered. And as they could not be ignorant of his inveterate animosity against them, and that it was impossible to bring him to a good opinion of them, which M. le Duc had often endeavoured to do, but in vain, it was natural for them, being both of a bold and enterprising spirit, to turn their thoughts how to get rid of the bishop. But a stroke so desperate, and an attempt so dangerous to themselves, made it impossible to conceive which way they could undertake it.

“ I am here to acquaint your lordship, that although the candid and disinterested behaviour of the bishop towards M. le Duc was a sufficient proof of his having no design of being prime minister himself; yet the privilege he enjoyed of working alone with the king, without the presence of the duke, and being always present when his highness should work with his majesty, was represented by madame de Prié and M. du Verney as such an encroachment upon the authority of his highness, as prime minister, as to have made a strong impression upon him; and he has for a long time had it so much at heart, that he has often endeavoured by himself, and by the insinuations of some friends, to prevail with the bishop to consent that his highness might sometimes do business alone with the french king. But M. Frejus would never give up this point, saying, that he had his majesty’s positive command to be always by when M. le Duc had any business to do with him, wherein his highness was obliged to acquiesce, but never was perfectly easy in this matter.

The last year, when the king was at Chantilly, and the bishop went for two days to Liancourt, the duke waited at the usual hour upon his majesty with his portefeuille, in order to work with him in the absence of M. Frejus; but he could not prevail with his majesty to do it, who said

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he would stay till M. Frejus came home. His highness modestly replied, he did not desire to do any business of moment; but there was some papers, which, though of no great consequence, yet by the nature of them required an immediate dispatch, and begged his majesty only to sign them; but the king said it would be time enough when the bishop came back. This strong decision, in favour of the bishop, made it evident how vain a second attempt of this nature would be; and therefore all jealousy and dispute about it seemed quite over, until the arrival of the queen.

“ Her majesty being entirely beset by the creatures of madame de Prié, being, out of gratitude and inclination, much attached to the interest of M. le Duc, and either not daring to cultivate a friendship with the bishop, for fear of disobliging his highness, or not desiring to do it, on account of several little stories insinuated to the disadvantage of the bishop, as if he was her enemy; and lastly, perhaps, being made to believe that she had absolutely gained the heart and affection of the king, was earnestly solicited to join her interest to prevail with his majesty to work alone with M. le Duc; to which, though as it is said with much reluctancy, she consented at last, and this was the reason of the bishop’s retiring to his country house, on Tuesday last, occasioned in the following manner.

“ On Monday, in the evening, as soon as her majesty had notice of the king’s return from hunting, she quitted her cards, and desired to speak with him in her closet; being about an hour before the usual time for the bishop’s seeing him alone. The queen took that opportunity, in the presence of M. le Duc, to press him most earnestly, and in the most insinuating and flattering ways imaginable, to do business with M. le Duc alone, that night; which he by no means would consent to, notwithstanding her repeated instances for above an hour, when his majesty said he must take his leave, and go to the bishop. But before he went out of the room, she made him promise to return soon to her again. Being come to his own apartment, where he found the bishop, the king gave him an account of all that had passed with the queen, telling him positively, that he was resolved not to work with M. le Duc alone, nor return to the queen’s lodgings. M. Frejus desired him, since he had given his word, to go back again to the queen, that if his majesty was fully de-

terminated not to do business with M. le Duc alone, the best way was to send for him to come. The king said, No, stay you here in the closet, and I will return to you again immediately.

“ The conversation between the king and the bishop lasted on this occasion above an hour and a quarter, before the bishop could prevail with him to return to the queen ; but being gone, and the bishop having staid in his majesty’s closet above an hour, without hearing any thing of him, he took it for granted that the queen and M. le Duc had prevailed with his majesty to do business with his highness in his absence, and therefore he returned to his lodging, and took no farther notice of the matter that night. But early the next morning, having wrote a letter to his majesty, to acquaint him with the reason of his retirement, and beseeching him in a proper manner to dispense with his future service and attendance upon him ; and likewise another to M. le Duc, for obtaining his majesty’s pardon and consent for his leaving altogether the court, he went to his country house at Issy.

“ His majesty was gone a hunting that morning, before the receipt of the bishop’s letter ; and immediately upon his return home in the afternoon, the queen having desired to speak with him, acquainted him, that the bishop was gone to his country house. His majesty replied, But I suppose to return again this evening ? The queen having thereupon answered, No, she believed not, the king said nothing ; but, with the greatest appearance of concern in his countenance, suddenly left the room, and went to his own closet, where, to avoid company coming to him, he retired to his *garderobe*, and set himself upon the close-stool, in a very sullen and melancholy posture. The duke of Montemar, lord of the bedchamber in waiting, was the only person that came near him, to see if he wanted any thing ; and having waited some time, without his majesty saying any thing to him, the duke himself ventured to say, *Sire, M. de Frejus est parti pour la campagne, tant pis pour votre majesté, et pour l’état.* The king made no reply ; but having soon after got up to return to his closet, he called to the duke of Montemar, and said, *Allez incessamment chez M. le Duc, et dites luy, que je luy ordonne d’écrire sur le champ à M. Frejus, que je l’attends demain à mon levée.* Whereupon the duke said, *L’ordonnez-vous, Sire ?* The king replied, *Ouy, je l’ordonne.*

The duke went and delivered his majesty's command to his highness, who sent an express that night to the bishop; and he accordingly waited upon his majesty the next morning at his levée. It is said that nothing could equal the concern and uneasiness that his majesty shewed at the bishop's absence, except it be the pleasure and satisfaction which appeared in his countenance upon the bishop's return next morning.

“This is the best account, my lord, I can get of this extraordinary incident, which, during the time that it lasted, employed the attention and reflections of every body, both native and foreigner, the whole court and town taking the bishop's part, excepting his particular friends, who thought that his departure, without being first apprised of the king's behaviour, was too hasty and precipitate, and might have given to his enemies a great advantage over him. M. le Duc has thought fit to take the turn of wondering extremely at the bishop's going away, without the least reason or provocation; and he began the letter he wrote by the king's command, to M. Frejus, by expressing his own surprise at his absence. I having had an audience, on Saturday, of his highness, to talk with him about the king of Sardinia's accession to the treaty of Hanover; and finding him very gracious, took an opportunity, as I was going away, to tell him I hoped that all the noise about divisions at court was over, begging his pardon for touching upon so nice a subject, which was no concern of mine, any otherwise than as the strict friendship and union betwixt the two crowns would make me sorry if any thing should happen that might disturb or weaken the administration here. He very obligingly said, ‘To you I will speak plain on this matter, which is the most ridiculous thing that ever happened; and my friend the bishop, as I have since told him, said his highness, had he been a child, deserved to be whipped. Had he said the least word to me, nothing of this nature would have been; for he had no reason in the world to go away. M. Frejus and I, continued he, have always been very good friends. I do not doubt but we shall always continue so; though I am very sensible of the endeavours of some to divide us, if possible; but they will not be able to have their end.’

“I will not conceal from your lordship that the bishop's country house being directly in my way from Versailles to Paris, I stopt in my chaise at

the end of the village, at my return from court that Tuesday, and sent my servant to inquire how the bishop did ; resolving, in case he gave me any encouragement, to have made him a visit, and to have exhorted him to return to court if possible ; being persuaded, should he retire from business at this juncture, that things would go into the greatest confusion here, and have a dangerous influence on the foreign affairs. He returned me a civil compliment of thanks, and said he hoped that he should see me in two or three days, and very early next morning he sent his secretary to me to acquaint me that he was setting out to return to court. I did not think proper to wait upon him at Versailles, until Saturday last, and then I took care to see M. le Duc and M. de Morville first.

“ It is impossible for me to express the obliging manner in which the bishop received me, *full of acknowledgment for that mark of my friendship in calling upon him in that doubtful day of his retirement* ; and I hope his majesty will not be displeased at my having taken this step, which honour and gratitude, for his constant behaviour towards me, called upon me to take, whatever his fate might have been, which I am persuaded he will never forget.”

The observation of Mr. Walpole that Fleury never would forget his visit, was verified by the event ; and their intimacy was strengthened by this mark of regard. The deference of Fleury to the english ambassador gave umbrage to the french party, who were adverse to the union with England. Montgon says, that Mr. Walpole had subjugated Fleury, and calls them two fingers of the same hand ; marshal Villars also, and the duc de St. Simon * made the most urgent remonstrances to Fleury on his subserviency to the english ambassador, but without effect.

CHAPTER

* St. Simon speaking of this visit of Mr. Walpole says, “ M. de Frejus fut si touché de la demarche de ce rusé Anglois dans cette crise, qu’il le crut son ami intime.” * * * * * “ Il s’abandonna entierement aux Anglois avec une dependance, qui sautoit aux yeux de tout le monde. Je resolu enfin de lui en parler. * * *

Sur la confiance en Walpole, en son frere, et aux Anglois dominans il se mit a sourire. Vous ne savez pas tout, me repondoit il : savez vous bien ce qu’ Horace a fait pour moi ? et me fit valoir cette visite, comme un trait heroique d’attachement et d’amitie qui levoit pour toujours tout scrupule.” St. Simon, tom 10.

CHAPTER 11.

1726.

Mr. Walpole supports the Treaty of Hanover in Parliament—Deaths of his Sister Lady Townshend and of his Brother Galfridus—Transactions of the Allies of Hanover and Vienna—Reciprocal Preparations for War.—Mr. Walpole's return to Paris—Divided State of the French Ministry—False Suspicions of Intrigues between Fleury and the Court of Spain—Fall of Ripperda.

MR. WALPOLE had continued at Paris from his first arrival in October 1723, to the end of 1725, engaged in the most arduous affairs, with only the intermission of two months in the spring of 1724, which he obtained with the greatest difficulty. At this period his presence became necessary in London, to explain the real state and intentions of the french cabinet, to assist in arranging the complicated business arising from the late negotiations, and to defend the treaty of Hanover, to which much opposition was expected, both by his writings and in parliament.

The affairs of England were, in the interim, committed to his confidential secretary, Mr. Robinson, whom he mentions in the highest terms of esteem and affection, who, during his short absence, had displayed great prudence and sagacity in treating with the french ministers, and acquired the full confidence of Fleury.

On his arrival in London, in January 1726, Mr. Walpole found the ministry embarrassed with the wavering conduct of the king of Prussia, and the kingdom threatened with an invasion, from the united forces of Spain, Russia, and the Emperor. He found the opposition strengthened by the recent accession of the Pulteneys, and the different parties united into a compact body, by the address of Bolingbroke.

The

The parliament was opened on the 20th of January ; and the treaties of Vienna and Hanover were laid before the Commons, on the 9th of February, by Sir Robert Walpole. Being taken into consideration on the 16th, Mr. Walpole opened the debate with a long and well arranged speech. After perspicuously detailing the history of the treaties, from the peace of Utrecht to the conclusion of the treaty of Vienna, he defended with great abilities the motives and conduct of the king, in contracting the treaty of Hanover. He laid open the ambitious designs of the courts of Madrid and Vienna, and developed their views and engagements hostile to the commerce and interests of England, in contradiction to existing alliances.

He added, “ His majesty, ever watchful for the interest of his british subjects, had caused lively representations to be made, both to the emperor and Spain. At the court of Madrid those complaints were received with coldness, and at that of Vienna with haughtiness ; the imperial ministry did not scruple to insinuate, that if the king persisted in his resolution to take measures in opposition to the treaty of Vienna, the emperor would not only think himself disengaged from the guaranty of the protestant succession to the crown of Great Britain ; but that such conduct might be attended with serious consequences, in relation to his majesty’s dominions in Germany. These insulting menaces made no impression on his majesty’s firmness, nor deterred him from concerting, with other powers, such measures as might check the ambitious views of those who endeavoured to render themselves formidable.”

He then dwelt on the attempts of Spain to conclude a marriage between don Carlos and an arch-duchess, and expatiated on the danger of such a match, which at a future period might unite the spanish and austrian dominions under the same monarch. He concluded with declaring, that “ the main view of the treaty of Hanover was to maintain the public repose and tranquillity of christendom, and to secure to each contracting party the possession of their respective dominions, with the rights, immunities, and advantages, particularly those relating to trade, which their subjects enjoyed, or ought by treaties to enjoy.”

This



Pub. Feb. 1 1802 by the Rev. W. Cox London

*yr affect: Sister &
Humble servant
Doro. Walpole*

DOROTHY 2nd WIFE of CHARLES VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND

From an original at Rainham

This speech was ably answered by Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who urged, that the subject was of too great importance for a precipitate decision; and by Shippen, on the plea that the treaty would engage the nation in a war, in defence of the king's dominions in Germany, contrary to the act of succession. These objections were refuted by Mr. Pelham; and an address moved by him, expressing the resolution of the house to support the king "against all insults and attacks upon any of his territories and dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain," was carried by 285 against 107.*

This triumphant majority decided the fate of the treaty, and the session was closed on the 24th of May.

During Mr. Walpole's continuance in England, he experienced a domestic misfortune by the decease of his sister, lady Townshend, who died of the small-pox, on the 29th of March. This elegant and accomplished woman was a severe loss to her husband and family. She greatly contributed, by her engaging manners, to enliven the fatigue of business, in which lord Townshend was involved. Though educated in the country, and unaccustomed, till her marriage, to the manners of a court, she soon acquired great ease and address; and when she accompanied her husband to Hanover, "gave," as lord Waldegrave expresses himself in a letter to Mr. Walpole, "with so much good humour, into the ways of the country, that she pleased every body to admiration†." Her death was the greatest misfortune at this critical juncture, on account of the growing misunderstanding between lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole‡, which her influence over her husband and brother had greatly contributed to diminish. She died in the 40th year of her age, "generally and justly lamented for her uncommon merit, and the accomplishments that adorned her mind as well as her person§."

In

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 29. Chandler. Tindal, vol. 9. p. 548 & seq.

‡ Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chapter 30.

† Hanover, December 19, 1725. Waldegrave Papers.

§ Political State for March 1725-6,

In the month of August, Mr. Walpole suffered another domestic loss by the death of his brother Galfridus, who had entered at an early period into the naval service, and highly distinguished himself in the reign of queen Anne. He was promoted to the command of the *Lion*, a third-rate man of war, and in a severe action with the French, lost his right arm by a cannon-ball. Soon after the accession of George the First, he sat in parliament for the borough of Lestwithiel, was nominated treasurer of Greenwich hospital, and in 1721 appointed joint post-master general.

The treaties of Vienna and Hanover divided the views, and occupied the attention of Europe. The courts of Vienna and Madrid prepared to carry their gigantic projects into execution. Spain disdainfully rejected all the overtures of the duke of Bourbon to pacify her resentment for the dismissal of the infanta, and laboured to realise the vast but incoherent plans of Ripperda. Philip publicly received the duke of Wharton as the accredited agent of the pretender, countenanced the plans of the duke of Liria for the invasion of England, treated Mr. Stanhope as a proscribed minister, engaged officers for the service of the pretender, and sent a large body of troops into Galicia, apparently to attack France, or invade England. He also made large remittances to the emperor, and promised additional subsidies on the arrival of the galleons from America.

The emperor, on his part, was no less active; he gained the electors of Treves, Bavaria, Cologne, Mentz, and Palatine; he had nearly succeeded in detaching the king of Prussia from the treaty of Hanover, and meditated to arm the northern powers against England. Catherine maintained a predominant party in Sweden and Denmark, and, assisted by the golden showers of Spain, prepared to co-operate in the invasion of England, which was to be attempted at the same time from the coasts of Russia and Norway, Flanders and Spain. With this view the emperor and Spain projected the establishment of a military force of 240,000 men, exclusive of the Russian and electoral troops.

The spirited resolutions of parliament, to defend the king's dominions in Germany, as well as Great Britain, were supported by equal vigour in the ministry, to gain new accessions to the treaty of
Hanover,



your most affect. *G. Walpole*
my love to my sisters & Horace

GALFRIDUS WALPOLE

From the collection of Lord Walpole

Hanover, and to repel the hostile aggressions of Spain and the emperor. Vast preparations were made by sea ; Admiral Hosier was sent with a powerful squadron to blockade Porto Bello, and prevent the return of the galleons, which were to convey from the new world the annual treasures of Spain. Sir Charles Wager, with another squadron, sailed to the Baltic to check the hostile attempts of the czarina, and secure the co-operation of Sweden and Denmark ; while Sir John Jennings, having on board a large body of land forces, cruized off the coast of Spain.

Such being the general state of affairs, the great object of the british cabinet was to keep France steady to her engagements, notwithstanding her earnest desire of a reconciliation with Spain ; to infuse vigour into her counsels, and, with her concurrence, to overcome the russian party in Sweden, to form a convention with Denmark, and detach the german princes from their alliance with the emperor. With this object in view Mr. Walpole returned to Paris on the 14th of May, and found the french cabinet in a sad state of weakness and disunion.

The king was indifferent to affairs, solely occupied with hunting and his visits to Rambouillet *, estranged from the queen, to whom he did not even speak for three months after the retreat of Fleury, and having no will but that of his preceptor.

The duke of Bourbon was absolutely governed by madame de Prié and Paris du Verney ; he was disgusted with the bishop's predominant influence, anxious to obtain a reconciliation with Spain, yet desirous to preserve the union with England, through a dread of the vengeance of Philip ; therefore timid, wavering, and averse to the adoption of vigorous measures.

Morville, though friendly to England, and easy of access to the british minister, was jealous of Fleury, and caballed with the duke of Bourbon. " His knowledge of foreign affairs," to use the expressions of Mr. Walpole, " was very scanty, upon his entering into business ; and his genius was naturally so narrow, that there was no great prospect that time and experience would ever make him a considerable man, or any thing more than a clerk to receive and execute orders, even in which he was not so expeditious

* The seat of the count of Thoulouse, natural son of Louis the Fourteenth.

expeditious as could be wished. And although he loved the appearance and credit of doing every thing himself; yet he would readily submit to the opinion of him, who had the chief power and authority in the government*.

Marshal Villars was attached to the duke of Bourbon, to whom he solely owed his introduction into the council of State. Though grossly illiterate, and ignorant of foreign affairs, his vanity led him to consider himself as great a statesman as a warrior. Servile in his flattery, though affecting independence, he had no real influence; and his increasing age and infirmities rendered him a mere cypher.

The duke of Orleans, as presumptive heir to the crown, had a seat in the council of State. Though a prince of the strictest virtue and morality, he was minute and superstitious in the forms of religion, and ill calculated for business. His capacity was slow, and he had not made that progress in the knowledge of affairs which was expected from his high station, age, and experience. From animosity to the duke of Bourbon, he was inclined to oppose his views; and indiscreetly, though innocently, communicated to his wife† the secrets of State, which were transmitted through her family to the emperor.

Fleury was the soul of the french cabinet; though personally attached to Mr. Walpole, and friendly to the union of the two crowns, as far as was consistent with the interest of his country, he had been recently suspected of entertaining a secret correspondence with Spain, and countenancing the cabals of the jacobites. During the absence of Mr. Walpole, a letter from the abbot Montgon to Morville, containing vague communications on this subject, which was transmitted by Mr. Stanhope, filled Mr. Robinson with surprise and alarm. Adopting, however, the prepossession of Mr. Walpole in favour of Fleury, he waited on the bishop late in the evening, and with great caution and address communicated the intelligence. Having hinted that in a discourse with Mr. Stanhope, Ripperda mentioned a negotiation at Madrid, and a proposal recently made for reconciling the two crowns, unknown to M. le Duc, and managed by some persons of the first distinction in France: “ I was agreeably surprised,”

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, Sept. 28, 1726.

† Maria Jane, daughter of Louis William, margrave of Baden, whom he espoused in 1724; she died in August 1726.

prised," continues Mr Robinson, "agreeably to my own wishes and thoughts of the affair, by the bishop's interrupting me with a smile, and that unaffected openness in his countenance, and saying, 'Am I not the person? Am I not the man of distinction in France who am to have the honour of reconciling the two crowns, and obliging M. le Duc to go throw himself at his catholic majesty's feet, and beg pardon? We have had the news here, post after post, and M. le Duc is acquainted with all my ill offices.'" On insinuating further intimations from Ripperda, of Fleury's proposal, in conjunction with the duke of Orleans, for displacing the duke of Bourbon, inducing the king of France to accede to the treaty of Vienna, and for setting the pretender on the throne; "The bishop," adds Mr. Robinson, "continued his gaiety and laughing at Ripperda, and the thin artifice he used to throw jealousies and intestine divisions into this court, which he said was the last effort of Spain, after that minister had found his attempt baffled, to give a diffidence of France to England." He added, "Ripperda is ill-informed of the situation of this court, to imagine me capable of entering into any design to displace M. le Duc, much more to have recourse to Spain and him for that purpose. My intentions and sentiments, with relation to the pretender, are too well known. I have too true a knowledge of the interests of my country and king to precipitate his majesty into measures so pernicious to France, as to think of abandoning the king of England's friendship.

"But I need not trouble you with these reflections; I am accountable to nobody but the king for my actions. I see you are concerned lest these calumnies should do me an injury. I thank you for your confidence; it is kindly done; but I have been a long time acquainted with this Montgon's suspicions. It is a poor credulous creature; but God knows what he would be at. I never thought it worth while to trouble Mr. Walpole with these accounts of myself; I despised them; acquitted myself to the king. Surely any thing so personal to myself was not worth mentioning. However, once for all, I protest solemnly to you, and (lifting up his eyes and hands) I protest before God, that I have no correspondence directly or indirectly, in Spain, with any one person whatever."

At the bishop's instances, Mr. Robinson carried the letter to Morville, who laughed at these vague insinuations, made a warm eulogium of Fleury, and offered to forfeit his own life if there was the least truth in that part of the calumny which related to him. The duke of Bourbon, with whom Mr. Robinson had an interview on this subject, treated the letter as an artifice of Ripperda, and solemnly disclaimed any intention of effecting a reconciliation with Spain, but through the mediation of England. He strongly vindicated Fleury; declared that they both acted for the same service, and upon the same principles; and, drawing his hand across his throat, said, "I will answer with my head for the bishop's fidelity *."

The suspicions of the british ministry were for a time allayed by this circumstantial and candid account. The artifices of Ripperda, and the origin of these absurd insinuations, were afterwards satisfactorily explained by Morville to Mr. Walpole, and justly attributed to the officious interference of Montgon, and to the credulity of Stalpart and Sartine, the agents of France at the court of Madrid.

Soon after his return to his embassy, the attention of Mr. Walpole was occupied by the accounts transmitted from Madrid, of the fall of Ripperda; of his taking refuge in the house of Mr. Stanhope, and disclosing the secret transactions between Spain and the emperor†. The earliest intelligence of these extraordinary events was communicated in a letter, dated the 18th of May, from count Konigseg, the imperial ambassador at Madrid, to Fonseca, the imperial minister at Paris. Mr. Walpole received the first hint from the Bavarian minister, on the 31st of May, and on the 3d of June a confirmation of the account from Morville and Fleury, which Fonseca had just imparted to them. The imperial minister, in making the communication, expressed his regret at what happened; hoped the french court would not increase the flame, by adding oil to it; and apologised for the emperor, in having negotiated with such a wretch
as

* Mr. Robinson to the duke of Newcastle, Paris, March 13, 1726.

† The reader is referred to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole for an account of the rise,

administration, and fall of Ripperda; and for the letters of Mr. Stanhope, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chapter 35, and Correspondence, vol. 2, p. 572, 622.

as Ripperda. The french ministers highly applauded the dexterity and prudence of Mr. Stanhope, and seemed pleased at the hopes of obtaining a full knowledge of the secret negotiations between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. They, at the same time, expressed their doubts whether Philip had violated the rights of nations by forcing Ripperda out of Mr. Stanhope's house, urged Mr. Walpole to moderate the resentment of his master, and anxiously deprecated a rupture with Spain.

On the 9th an account from Mr. Stanhope, which was delayed by the arrest of his courier at Victoria, reached Paris; and Mr. Walpole, the following day, imparted the intelligence to Fleury at Versailles. In this interview, which was short, and frequently interrupted, Mr. Walpole was struck with a remarkable expression, uttered by the bishop in the heat of conversation; "The reign of first ministers is but short!" which seemed to announce an approaching change in the administration of France.

CHAPTER 12.

1726.

Dismission of the Duke of Bourbon—Correspondence of Mr. Walpole on that Subject—Conference with Fleury.

THE surprise excited by the disgrace of Ripperda was soon obliterated by an unexpected event of still greater importance, the dismissal of the duke of Bourbon.

The recal of Fleury having ensured his triumph over the duke of Bourbon, and riveted the affections of the king beyond controul; he resolved to obtain the dismissal of madame de Prié and Paris du Verney. After ineffectual attempts to induce the duke of Bourbon to sacrifice his mistress and his confidant, he had a long audience of the queen, and urged her majesty to remove those persons who disgraced her household. "What antipathy," said the queen, "causes you to make such strong representations for their dismissal?" "I have no antipathy," replied the bishop, "and the sole motive of my repeated exhortations to the duke of Bourbon is the dishonour which they entail on his character and administration." "But how can I," rejoined the queen, "dismiss these persons from my household, who have been proved guilty of no crime, and only desire that their conduct may be scrutinised? I will freely own that the disgrace of persons with whose services I am satisfied, will displease me." The bishop made no answer; and when the queen hinted at the charge of the king's affections, he replied, "I am not to blame." She then represented to him the chagrin of the duke of Bourbon at the king's refusal to admit him to a private audience, and solicited his interposition, but in vain*.

The duke of Bourbon was naturally dissatisfied with continuing at the helm

* Memoires de Villars, tom. 3, p. 215.

helm of affairs, as a mere deputy to Fleury; but, aware of the bishop's ascendancy, concealed his disgust, and affected to express the highest esteem and confidence in his co-adjutor. He even seemed to pay some deference to the repeated exhortations of Fleury; Madame de Prié made a journey to her country-house in Normandy; Paris du Verney appeared seldom at Versailles, and an important transaction of finance took place without his knowledge. Alarmed at this neglect, du Verney summoned madame de Prié from Normandy: she unexpectedly arrived at court on the first of June; and du Verney again frequented, as usual, the board of finance, and reassumed his imperious language and haughty manners*. They even made another attempt to obtain the disgrace of Fleury by means of the queen.

These efforts accelerated the catastrophe; and the duke of Bourbon, aware that the struggle would probably end in his own disgrace, offered his resignation to the king in the presence of Fleury. This unexpected proposal embarrassed the young monarch, till Fleury said, "Will your majesty consent to the proposal of the duke, and not persuade him to continue in your service †?" The king, thus relieved from his uncertainty, requested the duke of Bourbon to continue at the helm of affairs, with expressions of kindness and satisfaction. A general persuasion, however, prevailed at court, that a change was meditating; and on the 10th of June, marshal Villars observed to the comptroller-general Dodun, "I see a storm ready to burst over the head of the duke of Bourbon." "I do not believe," replied Dodun, "that he will continue in office three months." "Nor I," rejoined Villars, "eight days." But on the following day Villars observing the dukes of Montemar and Charost, who were enemies of the duke, extremely cheerful, expressed his opinion to Dodun that the storm was approaching. His prediction was soon fulfilled: after the conclusion of the council, held in the presence of the duke of Bourbon, the king, before he departed from Rambouillet, at three, said to him, "I shall expect you in the evening; do not make me wait supper." The duke continued to do business with Breteuil and Dodun till eight; and going to his carriage, which was to convey

* *Memoires de Richelieu*, tom. 4.

† *Memoires de Villars*, tom. 3, p. 244; and *Memoires de Montgon*, tom. 2, p. 111.

convey him to Rambouillet, met the count de St. Florentin with his papers ; but postponed the business till his return. At this instant the duke of Charost presented to him a letter from the king : “ I command you, under pain of disobedience, to retire to Chantilly, and remain there until farther orders.” The duke replied, “ Accustomed to make the king obeyed, I shall be the first to set the example ; but I expected, from the friendship of the king, and the earnest desire I have long shewn to retire, that my retreat would not have been attended with these marks of rigour.” He instantly entered his chaise, accompanied by a lieutenant of the body guards, and drove to Chantilly, where he arrived at one o'clock in the morning.

Fleury announced to the queen the removal of the duke of Bourbon, and at the same time delivered to her a letter written in the king's own hand : “ I intreat you, madam, and, if necessary, I command you, to do whatsoever the bishop of Frejus shall tell you, from me, as if it was told you by myself.” In shewing this letter to marshal Villars, the queen burst into tears. The dismissal of the duke of Bourbon was followed by the exile of Paris du Verney and his three brothers, and madame de Prié* had orders to retire into Normandy.

At three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Walpole was awakened by a messenger with a letter from Fleury :

“ Monsieur †,

Ce 11 Juin, à cinq heures.

“ J'ay été tenté souvent de reveler à vôtre excellence ce qui vient de se passer ; mais je n'étois pas maître du secret du roy, et mes ordres étoient trop exprès pour les violer. Sa majesté supprime la charge de premier ministre, et M. le Duc a ordre de se retirer à Chantilly. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'obéisse, et j'ay l'honneur de vous l'écrire, à l'avance, parceque je n'en aurai pas le temps après. Votre excellence peut estre assurée, Monsieur, et je vous supplie d'assurer sa majesté britannique que cet evenement ne changera rien dans les affaires et qu'elle trouvera la même

* She survived her disgrace a little more than a year, and died of chagrin for the loss of her power, at the age of twenty-nine, in October 1727. According to the Memoirs of Richelieu, she poisoned herself.

† “ Sir,

June 11, 5 o'clock.

“ I have been often tempted to reveal to your excellency what has just happened ; but I was not master of the king's secret, and my orders were too positive to be disobeyed. His ma-

même fidélité et la même exactitude dans nos traités reciproques. Je ne puis dans ce moment que lui protester les respect avec lequel je suis, Monsieur,

“ de V. Ex^{te}

“ le très humble et très

“ obeissant serviteur,

“ A. H. anc. év. de Frejus.

“ Mardi, à cinq heures du soir.”

This note Mr. Walpole instantly transmitted to the duke of Newcastle, in a letter dated June 12, three o'clock in the morning :

“ I have the honour to send your grace, inclosed, by express, the copy of a letter, which, though dated at 5 o'clock in the evening, I received but this moment from bishop Frejus, by a servant of his, who caused me to be waked on purpose to have it given into my own hands ; by which your grace will see that the office of prime minister is suppressed, and that M. le Duc has orders to retire to Chantilly, which, I do not doubt, will be a surprising piece of news to his majesty, having received no intimation of it any sooner. I should indeed, had not this midnight message prevented me, have given your grace, by the messenger that carries this, some account of some particulars that have lately occurred to me, which gave me reason to suspect that something of this nature might happen, though not so suddenly ; and that from some discourse I have lately had with the bishop, and more particularly from what he said to me, even yesterday, at Versailles. For my friend, Mr. Gedda, hinted to me some days since, in great confidence, that the queen had let count Tarlo know (who came hither about ten days ago) that M. le Duc had pressed her to speak to the king to decide who should have the authority of prime minister, his highness or bishop Frejus ; and insinuated to her to do it in such

jesty suppresses the office of first minister, and the duke of Bourbon is commanded to retire to Chantilly. I have no doubt but he will obey ; and I have the honour to write this to you before-hand, because I shall have no time after. Your excellency may be assured, and I entreat you, sir, to assure his britannic majesty, that

this event will make no change in affairs, and that he will experience the same fidelity and the same punctuality in fulfilling our reciprocal treaties. At this moment I have only time to declare the respect with which I am, Sir, &c.

“ Tuesday, 2 in the evening.”

such a manner, if she could, as might determine his majesty in favour of his highness. But she was too sensible of the hazard she had formerly run of the king's displeasure, who did not speak to her for three months (as the bishop himself lately told me) after the queen had taken part in favour of M. le Duc against him, and he had retired to his country-house before Christmas. This consideration determined her, by the advice of count Tarlo, to let M. le Duc know, that she could not venture to engage herself against bishop Frejus; but if any attempt was made against M. le Duc, she would oppose it; and that if she knew where the dispute lay, she would endeavour to accommodate matters betwixt them. She gave the same answer to madame de Prié, who being newly come out of the country, had earnestly talked to her majesty to the same purpose.

“ This intelligence, with other advices, (though not from good hands,) that the king's frequent journeys to Rambouillet would prove prejudicial to M. le Duc; the countess of Thoulouse having got possession, by a natural way of talking, agreeable to the humour of the king, to speak freely to his majesty of all things, and even against the administration of his highness, determined me, yesterday was se'nnight, to sound the bishop upon the situation of affairs betwixt him and M. le Duc, by which I easily perceived a great coldness with regard to his highness. The bishop freely owned to me that he was by no means pleased with M. le Duc's measures, with regard to their domestic matters, and particularly their finances; his highness being entirely delivered up to the pernicious counsels of madame de Prié and her creatures. As he let fall to me some strong expressions, that the service of the king his master was what he preferred to all other considerations, and that he could not sit easy and see things go on in the manner they did, to the ruin of the State, which in a short time would be out of capacity to support itself, if other measures were not taken; I began at first to apprehend that he might think of retiring again from court; but, having sounded him on that head, he gave me his solemn promise and assurance that he had no such intentions. I then gently touched upon the french king having perhaps thoughts of making him prime minister; upon which he declared there was no such design, and that he would never take that weight upon him. However,
I could

I could still perceive there was something in his breast with regard to M. le Duc, which gave me occasion to intimate to him, that I did not see how his highness's place could be supplied, (unless the bishop himself would take it,) by another person, without hazard of greater inconveniences, and even to the bishop himself, all things considered. But I could get nothing else from him, besides that nobody else could be prime minister; continuing to shew, at the same time, a dissatisfaction against M. le Duc.

"I was since informed, that application had been made, by some that are friends to the Orleans family, to count Tarlo, for engaging the queen to enter into a scheme for making the count de Thoulouse prime minister; which determined me to make use of that handle for discovering more fully the bishop's thoughts with regard to M. le Duc, and the administration, when I was at Versailles on Monday last. But I was so often interrupted when with the bishop, that I had only time to communicate to him Mr. Stanhope's account of what had happened with regard to Ripperda, at which time this remarkable expression fell from him, that the reign of first ministers was but short; but I had no opportunity of talking more to him on that subject then, at which I was the less concerned, because he had invited me to dine with him the next day, in company with the marshals d'Huxelles and Berwick.

"As I was alone with him yesterday, before dinner, I took an occasion to intimate to him the report I had heard that the count of Thoulouse was to be first minister. He not only gave me the strongest assurances to the contrary, but also represented to me the inconveniences that he was sensible would happen from thence. He let me know, at the same time, that the nation would be pleased to see the administration of affairs in the king's own hands, with a council to assist him. I told him, that as I hoped I might venture to say that the king himself appeared to have no application to business, nor any turn that way, I thought, by the nature of things, that however the authority might seem to be in his majesty's power only, yet there must be somebody who should have the particular confidence of the king, and to whom the principal resort and court should be made by the subjects, to prevent a confusion in business. "Yes," says he, "and so I think there must." From whence I inferred, that he meant himself; and as he said no more, I could not pretend to press him

any farther upon this subject. But in taking my leave of the bishop at seven o'clock, he stopped short twice, as I was going out, as if he had something to say to me; and though I put the question to him, yet he let me go without speaking out."

This dispatch was soon followed by another, bearing date June 13th, (very private,) containing an account of his first conference with Fleury after this important event:

"I had the honour to send your grace yesterday morning, by Lyng the messenger, a copy of the letter bishop Frejus wrote to me in his own hand, to acquaint me with the removal of M. le Duc. I can now let you know, that I having, in the answer I returned to thank him for that early communication, desired to wait upon him when he should think fit, he immediately sent me word that he should expect me with impatience this day to dine with him at Versailles; where I having accordingly been, I began the conference with expressing my grateful sense of this fresh instance of his confidence and friendship in the notice he had been pleased to give me of this new and extraordinary revolution at court; but I hoped at the same time, that he would suffer me to make use of the same amicable freedom, with which he had always indulged me, to let him know I could heartily have wished that he had extended his usual kindness and confidence to me so far as to have given me such early notice of this event, that I might have prepared his majesty and his ministers for it, for some important reasons, which, I must own, in some measure nearly affected me, and which, for want of such notice, would occasion, I was afraid, various reflections at our court. He desired me to speak my mind freely in every respect, and he hoped he should give me an entire satisfaction. I then continued my discourse to the following effect: 'Sir, you may remember that some time since, when I was in England, we received advices from Spain, that intrigues were certainly carrying on at this court, in concert with that, by great men, with whom you was principally concerned, for the removal of M. le Duc; which made not the least impression on his majesty or his ministers, chiefly on account of the assurances I gave them at that time, of there being no foundation in it, from the knowledge I had of your character and sentiments. Since, there

there has been several reports of this nature which I have hinted to you, of your being in close concert with the duke of Orleans and the count de Thoulouse against M. le Duc, and that the journeys which his most christian majesty made to Rambouillet were contrived for that purpose : and I will now tell you, sir, what I never would do before for fear of making you uneasy, when I thought the thing entirely groundless, and therefore unnecessary, which was, that our constant advices from Vienna informed us that the imperial court depends upon your friendship, if M. le Duc was out of the way. I then added what Mr. Palm had lately said to Mr. Pozzobuono, of count Broglio's doing nothing but by order of the duke of Bourbon, and that the great stroke of éclat which would happen in France would be public before the said duke, or Broglio, could have the least notice of it ; and it was so strong and lively a resemblance of the case that had now happened, that although it had gained no credit, and was looked upon by our ministers as an invention, yet it will, I am afraid, joined with the other considerations, much affect his majesty when he shall have heard this news, and I shall (you will pardon me, sir, my heart is so full for saying it) be suspected of having been mistaken in my thoughts and accounts of you, and particularly as to your confidence and friendship towards me.'

" I spoke to this purpose in such strong, but at the same time in such cordial and friendly terms, that he appeared a good deal touched, though not at all displeased at it ; and then said ;

" You have not been at all mistaken in me, nor have I in the least deceived you : when I spoke to you formerly in confidence of M. le Duc, I never meant otherwise than what I said ; my intentions were always sincere for his continuation to be first minister ; and even after my retreat into the country, and return to court, notwithstanding his ill treatment of me, so little deserved from him, I still resolved to live in friendship with him, though with the same freedom of speaking my mind to him as I had done before ; but his unalterable perseverance in being governed entirely by those whom I detested for the sake of my king and country, made it impossible for me to go on with him at that rate ; and I had no other way to take, unless I would absolutely withdraw myself from business, which you had constantly engaged me not to do. You may remember when you last week hinted to me your apprehensions of disorders

at court, and of a difference between M. le Duc and me; I did not then speak of his highness in the manner I had formerly done, and gave you plainly to understand, that the situation of things, with respect to us two, was a good deal altered. But I could not venture to tell you, though I was extremely desirous to do it, what was then in agitation; for the king had engaged me to the utmost secrecy, by letting me know that he would keep the secret, and desired that I would do so too. However I was almost tempted to tell it you when you left me on Tuesday in the afternoon: and I went so far as to send my valet de chambre to look for you at five o'clock on purpose, but you was gone to Paris; and the king's letter to M. le Duc was not delivered till six, and neither M. de Morville, nor any person whatsoever but the duke de Charost, who was to execute his majesty's orders, knew of it till after it was done. The whole matter passed betwixt the king and myself, and even without the queen's knowledge; from whence you may conclude, that the reports from Spain, as well as whatever you may have heard here, of my caballing with the duke of Orleans and others, were entirely groundless; for neither he nor the count de Thoulouse had the least intimation or apprehension of it; and when his highness came post hither yesterday morning, with a design to go immediately to Rambouillet, he was desired to return back again to Paris. What you mention of the imperial court depending upon my interest in their favour, I can assure you, to my certain knowledge, that M. Fonseca not long since wrote the contrary, and assured the emperor that he found me firm to the engagements with England. As to what Mr. Palm said to Pozzobuono, which he had from one Farnie, I must own it has a great resemblance to the event, and it struck both M. le Duc and me extremely when it was read; but it is one of those accidental things that are said sometimes by hazard, without any foundation, and yet prove true.

“ You may depend upon it (which he accompanied with the strongest assurances) that this alteration in our government will not make the least change in our measures, particularly with regard to the strict union and friendship between his majesty and the king of Great Britain; and you know I have been the author and chief promoter of it. And as I have the same opinion of you which I always had, and of your character, I am resolved to do nothing without you; and, as a convincing proof of it, I
desire

desire you will read this letter, which I have just wrote to the king of Spain, but would not send till you had seen it; which he then put into my hands. * * * * *

“ He then told me that this letter was to be sent to Madrid by the nuncio here, inclosed in a letter which he (the bishop) would write to the king of Spain’s secretary of the cabinet, desiring him to deliver it to his catholic majesty, when he should have an opportunity of doing it alone; and he added, that the nuncio had not seen it, and nobody else but myself. * * * * *

“ In my conversation with the bishop alone, which was continued after dinner, (the marshal Berwick being the only person that dined with us, and having retired as soon as we had dined,) I began again with thanking him for the great satisfaction he had given me in his assurances and confidence on this occasion, which, I was persuaded, would be agreeable to his majesty; but I told him that certainly this great event would upon the first éclat have an effect to the disadvantage of his majesty’s affairs, with regard to the union between the two crowns, which I had already perceived by my intelligence among the jacobites and others, founded upon a wrong notion they have of things, particularly with respect to his, the bishop’s, principles and zeal for his religion. I therefore hoped the liberty he had given me would excuse my enquiring, as far as was proper, about the form the administration might take, and the alteration that was like to be in the present ministry; because, although it was not the business of one court to concern itself about the persons to be employed in another, yet neighbouring princes and states would make their judgement and reflections upon the measures that are like to be taken by a court, from the known principles of the persons that are like to be employed. He then told me, with a ready freedom and cordiality, that the administration was to be carried on as in the time of Louis the Fourteenth, when he took the government into his own hands. There would be no prime minister, nor any council, any otherwise than the council of State that at present subsisted; the respective secretaries and other officers were to receive from him, the bishop, their orders, and attend and wait, in his presence, upon his most christian majesty, for all matters of expedition that required the king’s sign manual; and as for matters of

grace, they should pass entirely between the french king and himself alone.

“ I then said, that I supposed the council of State would be augmented by the addition of marshals d’Huxelles and Berwick, and some others : he said, as to marshal Berwick, although he had all possible confidence in him, yet as he was to be the general to command in chief, he would be contented with that employment, and did not care to be of the council. As to the marshal d’Huxelles, he did indeed heartily wish he would be of the council, but he made some difficulty on account of the rank, which he would not dispute, and yet could not yield to him (the bishop) : and I believe the same reason, besides his thinking himself still of a higher quality by his birth, makes marshal Berwick decline it too. I told him there would be an easy expedient with regard to marshal d’Huxelles, which was by his being made a cardinal. He owned he thought that must be the case, and then the marshal would come into the council ; and he assured me that nobody else was at all thought of.

“ I then asked him, if M. de Morville was to continue in the same station? Having given me an answer as if he had really such intentions, but not as an absolute determination ; I told him, that if I might be so free as to give him my opinion, I thought he could not do better ; for M. de Morville was of a capacity proper to be a subaltern, had no great nor extensive genius, nor had any other ambition but that of being subservient to the person in chief power, was supple and diligent, and consequently would now shew the same fidelity and attachment to him as he had done before to M. le Duc, for fear of losing his station. And he was of a temper, though not so open and free in his conferences with the foreign ministers as they could wish ; yet he was mild and agreeable enough in his manner of treating them, and had in general the character of an honest man. All these qualities and considerations made him, I thought, proper to work under the bishop, who, I hoped, would keep the conduct of affairs entirely in his own hands, without any partner or competitor whatsoever ; representing to him that in case there were any thoughts of M. de Torcy, I apprehended that the impression he had made in his former administration upon the minds of all good englishmen, as a determined enemy to our present government, and established succe-
sion

sion, the name of his being employed again would occasion such a general alarm in our nation, that no reasons or allegations whatever of his having changed his measures and maxims would be able to remove it; and that notwithstanding whatever I might say by his, the bishop's, authority, to the contrary, I should be looked upon as a dupe. To this I added, that as M. de Torcy had, in the time of Louis the Fourteenth, the chief conduct of foreign affairs, his opinion of his own abilities in that province, and his natural ambition to be at least as considerable as he formerly was, would not make him easily acquiesce with a subordination; and consequently he might embarrass the bishop, who would not be able to remove him afterwards so easily, as he might be to keep him out of power at present. Besides, he knew very well M. de Torcy's principles as to religion, being a thorough jansenist, which was very opposite to his notions. He then most solemnly assured me, he had not the least intentions of employing M. de Torcy, for the reasons I had alledged.

“ I then asked him whether I might make M. de Morville a compliment, of the great satisfaction I had of his being still to be employed? The bishop said I might go further, and tell him I was sure there were no thoughts of removing him, and that he had a particular friendship and regard for him. He then told me, that notwithstanding he had lately given me an answer, as if he should not take in M. le Blanc, as he was not indeed absolutely determined then about him; yet he must acquaint me, that it is impossible for him to do without him, especially in case of a war, he being the only person in France, by the voice of the whole nation in general, that was capable of that post. I gave him to understand that he was looked upon as no friend to England, and I had certain knowledge of his being intimate with madame de Mezieres, and even, in the time of the duke of Orleans, of having a correspondence with the jacobites, and particularly with my lord Orrery, in the last conspiracy: He told me, the late duke of Orleans was a great genius, but cunning and inconstant, and too apt to act a double game, and to give trouble to those with whom he was in the strictest friendship; that M. le Blanc should be no minister, but only secretary in the room of M. Breteuil; and he would take effectual care he should do nothing that should give the least jealousy and umbrage to his majesty.

“ It

“ It was impossible for me to oppose M. le Blanc’s coming in any further, when the bishop gave me to understand that he was already sent for to court. I am sensible that his arrival will at first occasion reports to the disadvantage of his majesty’s affairs, among the jacobites, and the ordinary news-mongers ; but as we are already prevented, on his account, we shall soon see either those insinuations entirely removed, or what we are like to expect by his way of working. But I do flatter myself, that we shall have nothing to fear from him, as long as the bishop continues to govern ; and it is certain his prejudice against England was in a great measure occasioned by Sir Luke Schaub, who, by entering into all the little intrigues of the late cardinal du Bois, personally offended and affronted those that the cardinal disliked and designed to remove. However, I shall be very watchful of the part that M. le Blanc shall take ; and should he act a right one, his boldness and abilities will certainly alarm the imperial court, more than any other step that could be taken here.

“ The bishop afterwards gave me to understand, that M. Peletier des Forts, a great friend of marshal Berwick, and uncle to M. Broglio, would succeed M. Dodun as controulor of the finances ; he is looked upon as a very capable and honest man, but of a warm and hasty temper. I do not doubt but M. St. Florentin and M. Maurepas will continue in their posts ; but I did not think it decent to ask the bishop any more questions about the administration. I only earnestly recommended to him to keep the entire management of affairs, as much as possible, in his own power, and under his own thumb ; since it was plain that nobody had the least credit with his most christian majesty but himself, and that was the only way to preserve it. I exhorted him to mix with that sweet and agreeable temper and address, with which he charmed every body that approached him, vigour and resolution in his councils and measures, as the only way to preserve the peace of Europe so desirable to us all.

“ I then asked him, whether he would not, besides what he had wrote and said to me, give the other foreign courts and ministers here to understand, that this revolution should make no alteration in the present system of affairs, and particularly in the union and confidence between his majesty and France ? He having replied that M. de Morville was ordered to prepare and sign proper letters to the principal courts of Europe for

that purpose, I told him that would be at first looked upon only as a usual circular, which would have been sent of course, although there had been thoughts of this court's taking new measures; but what should come from himself would be considered as certain and authentick, his character as to his word and honour being so well known. He answered, he never designed to write himself, not taking upon him the style of prime minister; but, for the reason that I alledged, he would speak to the ministers here, in their first audience of him, especially to those of the imperial faction and influence, to the effect that I desired. Having just then received from M. Fonseca, a letter inclosing M. Orendayn's* circular to the foreign ministers relating to Ripperda's affair, he gave it me to read, and told me he would take the opportunity, in answer to that letter, to let M. Fonseca see that France should continue to pursue the same system of affairs and alliances that were now subsisting, for the preservation of the peace of Europe.

“ Thus, my lord, ended the long conferences with the bishop, in the account of which, if I have given your grace too much trouble, I hope the importance of the occasion will excuse me; thinking it necessary to give his majesty the best light I could of what is and is like to be the present administration of affairs here, which in short will center in bishop Frejus, who, without the title of prime minister, will have the power in a more absolute manner than it was ever enjoyed by cardinal Richelieu or Mazarin.

“ I am sensible that there will be various refinements and speculations, as if the bishop had it always in his mind to be prime minister, but staid until, by establishing an undoubted and unrivalled authority in the mind of the young king, he had fully prepared matters for this great stroke. But I am still of another opinion, and that he would never have had the least thoughts of removing M. le Duc, had his highness not persisted in being delivered up entirely to the advice of madame de Prié and her creatures, instead of acting in concert with the bishop's opinion, for the good of the nation; until the whole nobility, clergy, and gentry, and populace, cried so loudly against M. le Duc, that it may be truly said, there never
was

* The spanish secretary of State, afterwards well known under the name of the marquis de la Paz.

was so universal a joy in France as his removal has occasioned. Your grace may perhaps likewise hear, as most of the foreign ministers believe, that I was entirely in the secret, on the account of my not having by accident seen M. le Duc that day, and of my having almost all the day, besides dining with the bishop, been in conference either with him or M. de Morville. Your grace will have seen, by what goes before, that I had not that honour; yet this report may have the good effect to make it sooner believed, that, through my intimacy with the bishop, there is no likelihood of there being any alteration with regard to the union between England and France; and, all things considered, perhaps it was better that the bishop did not tell me of the resolution he was determined to take, since it might very much have embarrassed his majesty as to his opinion and advice about it. I think, in the main, he has shewn me a greater confidence than he has done to any one person whatever, at least of a foreigner, not excepting the pope's nuntio, who is a great favourite of his; and given me such assurances of his administration being steady to the engagements of France, and agreeable to his majesty's interest and sentiments, that his future conduct, he being entirely the master now of this kingdom, must prove him the honestest man or the greatest ——— living; I own I have still the best opinion in the world of him.

“To conclude: after I left the bishop, I made my compliments to M. de Morville, upon the assurances I had of my being so happy as to have still the honour and pleasure of negotiating with him, which I was sure would be agreeable news to his majesty and ministry; and not to trouble you, after so long a dispatch, with what passed between us, he shewed me the letter the king wrote to him with his own hand, which was to this effect:

“We do order the sieur de Morville to do and dispatch all matters,
“that shall be told and directed by bishop Frejus, as much as if we
“should speak to him ourselves.

“LOUIS.”

CHAPTER 13.

1726.

Commencement of Cardinal Fleury's Administration—Council of State—Characters of Marshals Tallard and D'Uxelles—Continuation of Mr. Walpole's Influence.

FLEURY was in the 70th year of his age, when the helm of government was thus entrusted to his direction. Soon after this event he was nominated cardinal, a dignity which he had repeatedly refused to accept, through the interest of the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, or through the mediation of the kings of England and Spain; resolving, with no less patriotism than independence, to owe his elevation solely to the interposition of his own sovereign.

On the removal of the duke of Bourbon, the co-adjutors of Fleury, in the council of State, were the duke of Orleans, marshal Villars, and Morville. Mr. Walpole, after drawing their characters, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, explains the motives and conduct of Fleury, in admitting the marshals d'Huxelles and Tallard: "This was the state of the ministry when his most christian majesty declared that he reposed his most intimate confidence in the cardinal; and that minister became sensible, that while his authority and power, in the management of affairs, would be equal to that of a prime minister, he would likewise be accountable for the event of them; and that the good or bad success of the administration would entirely redound upon him. As he certainly has the best intentions, as well as a perseverance to do that which is right, so he is likewise desirous that the voice of the nation should accompany his good actions. This love of popularity, joined with the natural mildness of his temper, is sometimes a restraint upon him, and subjects him to a management that in some cases proves inconvenient;

venient; but as it never makes him swerve or deviate, in the least, from pursuing the point he has in view, he has steadiness, and with it dexterity enough to compass what he designs, without the displeasure or resentment of any body. I must do him the justice on this occasion to declare, that I believe the preserving of a strict union between his majesty and France, pursuant to the engagements now in force between the two crowns, is the foundation of his present thoughts and system, relating to the affairs of Europe.

“ This being the situation and temper of the cardinal, upon the removal of M. le Duc, he thought it necessary, considering the mean opinion the world had of the council in the time of his highness, as well as consistent with the dignity of the government, to increase the number of ministers of State*.

“ The cardinal, as your grace knows, immediately took, while he continued bishop, the marshal d’Huxelles† into the consultation upon foreign affairs, until the difficulty, on account of the rank, for admitting him formally into the council, was removed; which being done by his promotion to the cardinalship, and he, thinking it proper to add one to the council, took an occasion, as I informed your grace, to let me know that he had pitched upon the marshal de Tallard; and in talking to him upon this subject, he has told me, that he has reason to believe that marshal would act as he, the cardinal, should think fit, and that any other person that he could have thought of would have been more liable to objection.

“ They are both (speaking of the marshals d’Uxelles and Tallard) of the old

* Fontainebleau, Sept. 28, N. S. 1726. Walpole Papers.

† Nicholas du Blé, marquis d’Uxelles, was born in 1652. He was educated for the church, but, on the death of his elder brother in 1669, engaged in the military line. He distinguished himself on many occasions, and was rapidly promoted to the highest military honours, until he obtained the rank of marshal of France in 1703. No less fit for negotiations than for arms, he was one of the plenipotentiaries at Gertruydenberg and Utrecht. In 1718 he was

constituted a counsellor of the regency. Marshal d’Uxelles is described by St. Simon as indolent, vain-glorious, voluptuous and libertine; haughty and domineering to his dependants, and servile to his superiors; full of intrigues and cunning, under the mask of the greatest simplicity. He was, however, a man of talents and business, and better acquainted with foreign affairs than his colleagues. *Memoires de St. Simon*, tom. 11, p. 12. *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, art. Blé.

old court, which had indeed a most inveterate aversion to England, and the present happy establishment. But the continuation of so long a peace between the two nations, the low condition of the affairs of France, the apprehensions of the emperor's power, the disposition that his majesty has shewn, during his whole reign, to maintain a good understanding with this nation, joined with the general opinion here of his majesty's virtue and steadiness, and of his being daily more and more adored by his subjects, has, in a great measure, worn out the former hatred of France against England, even among the old courtiers; though there still remains a pride, which makes some of them think that England makes too great a figure, and that France should take the lead, more than they do, in the concert between the two nations. But as I have taken care to prevent the cardinal against any such notions, I think that if either marshal d'Huxelles, or Tallard, should let them appear, in some cases, it will have no effect upon the present system and measures.

“ Marshal d'Huxelles will, in order to keep up that dignity which he thinks becomes his person and character, of speaking his mind plainly, and without reserve, sometimes growl; but, to give him his due, as he becomes every day more and more instructed in the points of moment, that are in dispute with the emperor, he is more and more convinced of the justice and necessity of the measures taken by his majesty, in concert with France, before he came into the administration. His inclinations for a reconciliation with Spain are certainly greater than that crown deserves of France; and, considering the haughty temper of the queen of Spain, will rather contribute to keep it at a greater distance, than to advance it. His precautions, for fear of a war, are certainly greater than the danger of one, and, considering the nature of the imperial court, are more proper sometimes to make that court imperious than submissive. However, he does extremely well in the main, and has a strong aversion for the ministers of Vienna, and especially count Sinzendorf, who has no better liking to him, as the marshal has told me himself.

“ The marshal Tallard* loves business extremely, to talk much, and to give

* Camille d'Hostun, comte de Tallard, and duc d'Hostun, was born in 1652, and embracing, at an early period, the profession of arms, raised himself so much into notice, by his courage and skill,

give his own opinion; but by his behaviour yesterday, and by his character of having been always a most servile courtier, I believe he will never differ with the cardinal in any material point.

“ This account, together with what your grace will see in my other dispatch, about what has passed relating to the Ostend company, will, I presume, make his majesty extremely easy as to the present situation and disposition of this court †.”

The union and friendship between Mr. Walpole and the cardinal triumphed over all the endeavours of the imperial and spanish courts to infuse jealousy between France and England, and defeated all the intrigues of the jacobites, who founded sanguine hopes on the elevation of a catholic bishop, and of the spanish party in France, who thought the glory of their country was tarnished by her alliance with England. But, to use Mr. Walpole's own expressions, “ these artful designs were soon all disappointed by the cardinal's firmness; and he wrote himself, at Mr. Walpole's request, and caused the secretary of State, Morville, to write letters, conceived in the strongest terms, to Spain, in justification of his britannic majesty's measures, by sending his squadrons into the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Spain, to testify the french king's resolution to stand by his engagements with England, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, and indeed of all Europe, considering the cardinal's supposed bigotry, and his antient attachment to king Philip. And such was Mr. Walpole's management and influence with him, that although his eminence had nothing more at heart than to bring about a reconciliation

skill, that in the 23d year of his age, Turenne entrusted him with the command of the main body of his army at the battle of Mulhausen. He was created, in 1703, marshal of France; but he is less known for his various successes than for his memorable defeat at the battle of Blenheim, by the duke of Marlborough, where he was taken prisoner. The loss of the battle, however, was not imputed to his misconduct; for the same year he was appointed governor of Franche Comté, and on his return from England, in 1712, created duc d'Hostun.

He is thus described by the caustic St. Simon: “ C'étoit un homme de taille médiocre, avec des yeux un peu jaloux, pleins de feu et d'esprit, mais qui ne voyoient goutte, maigre, have, qui representoit l'ambition, l'envie et l'avarice; beaucoup d'esprit, et de graces dans l'esprit; mais sans cesse battu du diable, par son ambition, ses vues, ses menées et ses detours, et qui ne pensoit et ne resperoit autre chose; un homme, enfin, à la campagne duquel tout le monde se plaisoit, et à qui personne ne se fioit.”
Memoires de St. Simon, tom. 11, p. 21.

† Fontainebleau, Sept. 28, N. S. 1726.

conciliation of the family difference, between the nephew and the uncle; yet he never could be worked upon by the turbulent spirit of the queen of Spain, by the intrigues of jesuits, nuntios, and other emissaries, to attempt to do it at the price and hazard of breaking the union of France with England; and while the malevolent patriots and jacobites industriously exposed, in their libels, Mr. Walpole as a dupe to the cardinal, the queen of Spain used to say publicly, that his eminence was a *poltron*, and governed entirely by that heretic Horace Walpole.

“ The cardinal’s steadiness, in concurring with his britannic majesty, in all his negotiations with foreign powers, so strengthened the treaty of Hanover, as to frustrate and defeat all the views and resources employed in all parts by the Germans and the Spaniards, to enable them to execute the vast projects of their Vienna treaties*.”

Soon after Fleury’s elevation, Mr. Walpole experienced a striking instance of his confidence and sincerity. He had determined to remove the duke of Orleans from the council of State, with a view of placing the government on the same foot as under Louis the Fourteenth, when the princes of the blood were excluded from all share in the administration of affairs; but he was diverted from this resolution, by the strong and friendly remonstrances of Mr. Walpole. After complimenting him on the general approbation he had gained by the removal of the duke of Bourbon, and the moderation he had displayed towards his enemies, the british minister displayed the fatal effects which might arise from the exclusion of the duke of Orleans, and the embarrassment it might produce in administration, by uniting the princes of the blood against him. He then urged, in strong terms, the jealousy which such a step would occasion in those powers who were guarantees to the succession of the house of Orleans, as settled by the peace of Utrecht, as if he was preparing to undermine that succession, by removing the presumptive heir to the crown.

These remonstrances staggered Fleury, and in a subsequent conference he thanked Mr. Walpole for his advice, and assured him that he had relinquished his intention of removing the duke of Orleans from the council of State.

* Mr. Walpole’s Apology.

CHAPTER 14.

1726—1727.

Proceedings in Parliament relative to the Treaties of Vienna and Hanover—Embarrassments of Cardinal Fleury—His Declarations to Mr. Robinson—Mission and Character of the Abbot Montgon—Uncertain State of the French Cabinet—Siege of Gibraltar—Successful Representations of Mr. Walpole—Vigorous Resolutions of the French Court—Measures of the Hanover Allies—Preliminaries of Peace signed at Vienna—Death of George the First.

MR. WALPOLE quitted Paris on the 12th of December, leaving, as usual, the conduct of the british affairs to Mr. Robinson; and passing through Holland, where he concerted with the leading members of the republic, the plan of operations for the approaching contest, reached London before the meeting of Parliament.

The speech from the throne, on this important occasion, contained a remarkable passage: “ I have likewise received information, from different parts, on which I can entirely depend, that the placing the pretender upon the throne of this kingdom is one of the articles of the secret engagements.”

This charge, formally announced from the mouth of the king, was as formally disavowed by the emperor, and occasioned his imprudent appeal to the british nation, by the publication of his minister, count Pam's memorial, which roused the spirit of the people, and united all parties in support of the dignity of the throne. This formal charge on one side, and denial on the other, of the two sovereigns, gave rise to a controversy, which occupied the attention of Europe at the period, and is still undecided. Mr. Walpole, whose sagacity and information cannot be disputed, and whose sincerity cannot be questioned, believed

believed the existence of these secret articles; as appears from numerous documents and observations in his own hand-writing, found among his papers, not only during the negotiations against Spain and the emperor, but even in the latter period of his life, when he had no views or interests to promote. Perhaps no proof made a stronger impression on his mind than the communication of the secret articles by two sicilian abbots, of great birth and consequence, who received them from king Philip himself, on the 15th of November 1725, for the purpose of making their observations*.

The spirit of England was roused by the imperious conduct and menaces of the emperor and Spain; and the efforts of parliament co-operated

* I have, in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole †, asserted, "that the papers and documents submitted to my inspection fully display the proofs on which the reality of the secret articles was formed," and which occasioned the public declarations of the king and ministers in parliament; that the emperor and king of Spain proposed to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar and the restoration of the pretender. I flattered myself, that the documents I had inserted in the Correspondence, and the proofs I had given in the Memoirs, would be sufficiently decisive, in the opinion of any reasonable and unprejudiced person, to certify (as far as was compatible with the nature of such evidence) the existence of the secret articles. The only contradiction to these proofs was the simple disavowal of the emperor; but his assertion can be of little weight in this instance, as he equally denied other secret stipulations, which were afterwards proved. In fact, the *confidential* letter from count Zinzendorf, the emperor's favourite minister, to Palm, confirms beyond a doubt the secret resolutions of the emperor.

"Do they say there is a secret engagement entered into in the offensive alliance con-

cerning Gibraltar? That is the greatest untruth, as the treaty itself shews. Do they say an agreement is made concerning the pretender? That is likewise the greatest untruth that can be imagined. Let them ask all the Jacobites, whether they have heard one word from us or from Spain that could be construed to mean such an enterprise, *so long as we don't enter into a war? but then we shall help ourselves as well as we can.* In short, the mad english ministry shall never bring us to any thing through fear: our measures are so taken, that certainly we shall be able to oppose the aggressor."

These words, if they mean any thing, prove the point in dispute. For it cannot be supposed that the emperor intended to assist the pretender, unless he entered into a war with England; and that war could only be avoided on the part of England, by acceding to the treaty of Vienna, which stipulated the restitution of Gibraltar, and contained articles inimical to the commerce of England, and the subsisting treaties in Europe.

It is needless to quote any more of this extraordinary letter, which contains only vague assertions of the emperor's peaceable desires;

yet

† Chap. 28, and Vol. 2, Correspondence, particularly the article Ripperda.

rated with the zeal of the nation. The address to the king was carried in the house of commons by 251 votes against 81, and in the house of lords by a great majority. A subsidy was granted to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel for the maintenance of 12,000 men; and a vote of credit passed, empowering the king to defray the expences of his engagements. Before the close of the session, which terminated on the 15th of May, the critical position of affairs hurried Mr. Walpole to Paris, to keep France steady to her engagements, and to concert active operations; as Spain had already commenced hostilities by the siege of Gibraltar, and the emperor was making vast preparations to carry his threats into execution.

During

yet Mr. William Belsham cites this very letter as "an *historical demonstration*, that the intelligence upon which the court of London relied in this instance, was wholly erroneous, from whatever quarter, or with whatever view or intention it might have been communicated." I must, however, remark, that this author, with his usual inaccuracy of quotation, when a passage militates against his own opinion, has omitted two threatening sentences; the first beginning with, "In short the mad english, &c." and the second, which thus concludes the letter, "*What then is the cause and reason for making war? The augmentation of 30,000 men goes on, and we are sure of many friends.*"

The same author, after citing the sentence of the Memoirs, at the beginning of this note, adds, "If this cloudy jargon be intended to convey a belief of the reality of this design, let him produce those papers and documents which he pretends to have been submitted to his inspection, and which shall outweigh and supersede the positive and confidential declaration of the imperial prime minister to the imperial ambassador, actually resident at the court of London." Mr. William Bekham's *Two Historical Dissertations*, page 82.

I am unwilling to deluge the public with more State papers, after having published two

thick quarto volumes; but it will be a sufficient answer to Mr. Belsham's challenge, to subjoin the fifth article of the secret treaty, which was communicated to Platania and Carraccioli, the two sicilian abbots, by king Philip himself:

"5^o Their cesarean and catholic majesties, foreseeing that the king of England will oppose the execution of such designs, as well in regard to his particular interests, as not to lose his umpireship in Europe, for which reason he will undoubtedly engage the english nation, and unite the dutch and other princes in his league, they oblige themselves to seek all methods to restore the pretender to the throne of Great Britain; to which end the catholic king was to make use of the pretence of the restitution of Gibraltar, which he was to demand immediately as soon as the peace of Vienna was published."

The free remarks which these ecclesiastics made on the secret articles, inflamed the resentment of Philip, and he banished them from Spain. They then retired into France, enjoyed the protection of the french government, and imparted much useful intelligence to Mr. Walpole. I trust this document, in addition to those already published, will shew the futility of opposing *vague conjectures* and *perverted reasoning* against positive fact.

During the absence of the british minister, the jealousy entertained by the court of Versailles of the english squadrons had increased; and the alarm at the stoppage of the galloons, which had occasioned bankruptcies among the french merchants, raised a clamour against the administration of Fleury. Mr. Robinson having delivered to the cardinal a strong memorial from Mr. Walpole, urging him to listen to no proposals from Spain, but to declare war on the first hostility against Gibraltar; he candidly displayed the embarrassments under which he laboured, and expressed a desire to open a negotiation with the emperor, or Spain, rather than court hostilities.

“The allies,” he said, “may trust me, that I shall never receive any proposal, without communicating it to them, nor give any answer but what is agreeable to their sentiments. But as much management as I am bound to have for them, I am no less obliged to have some for our own people. The king has, and still honours me with his most intimate confidence; but I am far from having that of the nation in general, who, by the arts of some, or the ignorance of others, are taught to imagine that I myself am too easy, and entirely led by the English. What is still worse, this evil has crept into the council; and I am often obliged to hear these reproaches thrown to my face; or when certain persons dare not contradict, at the board, the force of my reasons, they are afterwards weak or malicious enough to give out in the world, that I am the only author of all: it is in vain that they oppose me, and sometimes truly, sometimes falsely, arrogate to themselves the public merit of having done so. This is my situation, which would be much worse if I did not appear to be as ready and willing to hear all proposals for an accommodation, as I am resolute and determined to reject all such as cannot be received by the allies. An instance happened yesterday in council, to whom I appealed; applying myself to the king, whether they had not all been of opinion that the first proposal from the emperor was not receivable? they answered yes; and so of the second. I asked the same of the last, to which they gave the same reply; I then desired they would remember it, that on my side I might hear no more reproaches, and that on theirs they might expect to see me act in consequence of what they then avowed.

“I speak to you,” he added, “with sincerity, and as frankly as I write.

write. I flatter myself this openness made my late letter as well received by the king of England as all my others are, I hope, by Mr. Walpole. I shew the difficulties I labour under at home, as well as point out to you what you have to rely upon. There is that difference between what I appear to do here, and what I am resolved to do in the main; the one is for my honour, the other for my self-preservation. To do otherwise than I do for the allies, would be to forfeit my word; and I might run the risk of being stoned, if I was thought here to do so much; for you must not imagine that this nation is universally disposed to a war, or will easily be brought to make one upon Spain; and therefore I am at a loss how to answer Mr. Walpole, when he demands that we should declare immediate war against that nation on the first hostility of Gibraltar. There is the same reason for me not to disoblige the people of France, as there is with him for satisfying the people of England. But we have one method left still to dispose the French to a war, which is by turning wholly upon the emperor, and making him the chief author of it, and sufferer by it; which will have this good effect, to convince the king of Spain, better than all the force in the world, of the emperor's weakness, of which, as well as of his insincerity, his catholic majesty is already grown sufficiently jealous*."

At the conclusion of this discourse, the cardinal added, that the sentiments he then disclosed were of too delicate a nature to be communicated in a dispatch to the secretary of State, and were only suitable to the intimacy between Mr. Walpole and himself.

The embarrassments of the cardinal do not seem to have been sufficiently appreciated by the british cabinet, who urged him to reinforce the garrison of Gibraltar with a corps of french troops, which would have been an instant declaration of war against Spain. The extreme delicacy of his situation was heightened by the arrival of the abbot Montgon at Paris, with overtures for an accommodation from Philip, who was not unacquainted with the wavering state of the french cabinet, and was supported by a numerous body of adherents.

Charles Alexander de Montgon, descended from the antient family of Cordebeuf, was born at Versailles in 1690. His father had served under Philip

* Mr. Robinson to Mr. Walpole, Paris, Jan. 8, 1727.

Philip the Fifth as lieutenant-general, and his mother had been lady of the bedchamber to the dauphiness. At an early period he embraced the military service; but, seized with a fit of devotion, renounced the profession of arms, resigned his inheritance to his brother, and entered into the church. Having expressed a desire to live in Spain, d'Aubenton, confessor of Philip the Fifth, prevailed on the king to appoint Montgon preceptor to his children; but the nomination was frustrated by the death of d'Aubenton.

His hopes, however, of gaining an establishment in Spain, did not subside; and on the abdication of Philip, he obtained, through the mediation of father Bermudas, the new confessor, the permission of accompanying the abdicated monarch in his retreat to St. Ildefonso, "without any other view," as he says, "than that of being a nearer witness of his virtues, and of strengthening, by his example, his own good resolutions." His journey, however, to St. Ildefonso being prevented by Philip's sudden resumption of the crown, Montgon was not deterred by the corruption of a court, and after some negotiation with father Bermudas, was permitted to attach himself "to the person of so pious a monarch."

As he repaired to Madrid soon after the dismissal of the infanta, he was commissioned by the duke of Bourbon to bring about a reconciliation between the two crowns, which he readily accepted, though he affected an aversion to all worldly affairs. Being of a lively imagination and plausible manners, and blending the fervour of devotion with the spirit of intrigue, he rendered himself acceptable to the king and queen of Spain, and was employed by them in the delicate negotiation of detaching France from England, and of securing the eventual succession of Philip.

Montgon had offended Fleury by his officious communication of the bishop's supposed intrigues in Spain, and on his mission to Paris, increased that disgust by his petty cabals and aspiring views. Fleury described him to Mr. Robinson as "a poor credulous creature." "The abbot," he said, "had hitherto appeared to him a poor simple kind of man, susceptible of believing every thing he heard, and officiously good enough in the communication of it. But, perhaps, now he should alter his judg-

ment of the man, and look upon him as an ambitious meddler, under the mask of a religious retreat *.”

The object of Montgon's mission was two-fold; first to separate France from England, and secondly to secure to Philip the eventual succession to the throne. Montgon arrived at Versailles on the 30th of January, and on the 31st had his first interview with the cardinal. He delivered a memorial, written by the queen of Spain herself; in which she expressed the inclination of the king, her husband, to renew the friendship interrupted by the dismissal of the infanta, provided the king of France was disposed to prefer the alliance of Spain and the emperor to that of protestant princes, and would separate himself from England, by acceding to the treaty of Vienna. Fleury received this intimation with great appearance of deference; but declared the condition of acceding to the treaty of Vienna inadmissible, being no less derogatory to the glory of France, than contrary to their engagements with their allies. But in the course of this, and subsequent conversations, he testified his intention to defer hostilities against Spain, as long as was consistent with honour and propriety; though he expressed a wish that Gibraltar might be taken by a *coup de main*, because if the siege was prolonged, the French must fulfil their engagements with England.

In

* Though Montgon affected to decline riches and dignities, he aspired to be ambassador from France to Spain, and solicited a rich abbey in France. Failing in these objects, which he justly imputed to the opposition of cardinal Fleury, he returned to Spain. His reception from the king and queen, and the encomiums lavished on his address and abilities, revived his hopes of promotion. Affecting to decline the offer of minister of State, he requested the embassy to Turin, and even expected a cardinal's hat; but all these hopes ending in disappointment, the credulous abbot retired from Spain, and passed his days in a private situation and straitened circumstances.

With a view to revenge himself on Fleury,

to whom he attributed his disgrace and disappointments, he published his Memoirs, in eight volumes. The greater part of these Memoirs is filled with eulogiums of his own address, prudence, disinterestedness and moderation; hints of his high lineage, declamations on the storms and corruptions of a court; effusions of religious fervour, and details of his petty disputes, and the grievances which he experienced from the cardinal. They are larded with perpetual quotations from the scriptures and the fathers; but, in the midst of this farrago, contain many curious anecdotes, develop many interesting events, and exhibit a striking picture of the policy and finesse of the cardinal, and of the weakness and ambition of the court of Spain.

In regard to the second object of his mission, Montgon had received specific instructions, written by Philip himself, to arrange a plan with his partisans for his eventual succession ; and was furnished with a letter of credence to the parliament, enjoining them to proclaim him king, should Louis the Fifteenth die suddenly without issue*. With a view to facilitate the execution of this project, Montgon was instructed to gain the duke of Bourbon, by offers of pardon for the past, and promises of future favours ; but he was ordered to make no communication either to Fleury or Morville. Yet even in the first interview, Fleury, by his respectful attentions, apparent candour, and the warmest expressions of attachment to king Philip, gradually drew from Montgon the whole purport of his mission. In reply to some insinuations that he was governed by England, “ I am not english,” exclaimed the cardinal, “ and I am anxious you should know, what the king of Spain cannot but recollect, that during the whole administration of cardinal du Bois, and even after his death, the king of England always suspected me of being hostile to his views. Have I not been always sincerely attached to the pretender ? And as a bishop, must I not ardently desire to see the re-establishment of a catholic prince on the throne of England ? The late queen of England †, who honoured me with her attentions, and I may say with her confidence, was well acquainted with my sentiments.”

After urging his inviolable attachment to king Philip, and insensibly leading the conversation to the marriage of the king of France, he suddenly asked, “ What part do you think the king of Spain would act, should the king die without issue ? ” Montgon, however, with affected reserve, replying, “ That his catholic majesty would open himself to the cardinal, as to an old and faithful servant of the king his grandfather ; ” Fleury continued, “ Should God, as we trust and hope, preserve the king, and give him heirs, this event will not happen ; but should we un-
fortunately

* C'est que si (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise) le roi mon neveu venoit à mourir sans héritiers mâles, étant, comme je le suis, le plus proche parent, & mes descendans après moi, je dois & veux succéder à la couronne de mes ancêtres.

“ IX. Je vous donne une lettre de créance de

ma main pour le parlement, pour la présenter à l'instant de la mort du roi mon neveu, dans laquelle j'ordonne qu'à l'instant que ce cas arrivera, on me proclame roi.” *Memoires de Montgon*, tom. 3, p. 70, 74.

† Alluding to the queen of James 2.

fortunately lose our king, can their catholic majesties doubt, that in so deplorable a case, I should forget what I owe to the blood of Louis the Fourteenth?" Montgon, affected with this artful apostrophe, instantly communicated the whole secret of his mission, and delivered a copy of his instructions.

Fleury received this communication with great composure, and, anxious to learn the sentiments and conduct of the duke of Bourbon, who, he knew, was caballing with the duke of Maine and Morville, even promoted a secret interview between the duke and Montgon.

In consequence of this arrangement, Montgon had a meeting at night with the duke of Bourbon, at his seat of Ecouen, between Paris and Chantilly; but without apprising him that it was by the contrivance of Fleury. After a conference of several hours, the duke promised to promote the succession of Philip, and was persuaded to write conciliatory letters to the king and queen of Spain. Montgon hastened to communicate the success of his conference, and a copy of the letter, which he afterwards received, to Fleury, who testified no less approbation than surprise at his diligence, secrecy, and address. He even enlivened the conversation with much pleasantry, and rallied the honest abbot on the credit which he had derived from his nocturnal visit, in his passage through St. Dennis, as a man of *bonnes fortunes**.

Although Fleury despised the capacity of Montgon, yet he felt the ill effects of his mission, from the increasing cabals of the spanish party, and the opposition of his colleagues in the cabinet. He fluctuated, therefore, between his anxious desire to avoid hostilities against Spain, and to preserve his engagements with England.

In this situation of affairs, the spanish party dreaded the arrival of Mr. Walpole; and Villars said to Montgon, who was urging the necessity of permitting the siege of Gibraltar, and of separating France from England, "It would be no great misfortune were the English driven from the continent of Spain; and truly, I believe, we should not much regard either their chagrin or resentment: but as the siege will be protracted, and the event doubtful, it will be extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to resist the instances of Mr. Walpole to engage us in hostilities; and

* Memoires de Montgon, tom. 3, p. 244, 245.

and what interest has Spain in pushing things to such extremities?" When Montgon urged the common topics of the haughtiness and aggressions of England, Villars rejoined, "All you say is fine and specious; but I repeat, Walpole is urgent, importunate, and much listened to here. He will soon arrive, and you will yourself witness the result of his solicitations*."

The event justified these observations: Mr. Walpole arrived at Paris on the sixth of March; in his first interview with the cardinal he fixed his wavering resolutions; and on the 30th Fleury made an animated speech, before the council of State, in favour of their engagements with England. "The cardinal," writes Mr. Walpole, "then from the fulness of his heart, told me, if I had heard what he had said, no longer than yesterday at council, in the presence of his most christian majesty, I should no longer be under the least uneasiness about his steadiness and resolution. "I took an opportunity," said he, "to let the king and council know, the time was now near that would certainly determine peace or war. His majesty must be prepared to act accordingly, pursuant to his engagements with his allies. The king of England, a prince of the greatest honour and integrity, had been in every respect faithful to his union and alliance with France; had constantly acted with the greatest harmony and concert with this crown in all his measures; had sufficiently shewn his sincere desire to preserve the peace, by agreeing to the propositions now to be offered to the emperor and Spain, which were originally from England, by his not only consenting that France should suspend the declaring war against Spain, but he had himself likewise deferred doing it, (notwithstanding his town of Gibraltar is actually besieged,) until he sees the success of the preliminaries now proposed, and that there can be no hopes left for an accommodation. His most christian majesty must accordingly think, if they should not be accepted, of taking measures, in conjunction with the allies, for carrying on the war; the Dutch have equally shewn their desire of peace, as well as deference to the opinion of France; for although they had demanded twenty-five years for the suspension of the Ostend charter and commerce with the Indies, as necessary for the abolition of that trade, yet, in complaisance to the sentiments

* *Memoires de Montgon*, tom. 3, p. 296.

sentiments of this court, they had agreed to accept of seven years only for that suspension : and therefore, as their allies had acted with all possible concert and regard for France, and with some good inclination for preserving, if possible, the peace, there would be no manner of difficulty or hesitation on the part of France to act with the same steadiness and regard for them ; and he must lay it down for a maxim, from which he thought his most christian majesty must not deviate, and upon which the prosperity of his future government must entirely depend, which was to begin his reign by a strict and inviolable observation of his treaties and engagements with his allies."

" This," said the cardinal, " was what I spoke but yesterday at council, without the least opposition or contradiction ; while the marshal d'Huxelles hung down his head, silent and sullen ; and if you can put M. de Morville upon this subject, without taking any notice of what has passed between us, he will tell you the same thing *."

The conduct of the french cabinet did not belie the assurances of Fleury ; France, notwithstanding her jealousy of the english squadrons, co-operated with effect and vigour in counteracting the designs of the imperial and spanish courts.

At this crisis Mr. Stanhope, who quitted Madrid in consequence of the commencement of hostilities, was received with high marks of approbation by the french king and ministry, and conveyed to the british cabinet the satisfactory intelligence of the good intentions of the french court, and particularly the firmness and sincerity of the cardinal. " Upon which," writes the duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, " I must congratulate your excellency, as what is in great measure owing to your great abilities and care, in the conduct of his majesty's affairs under your management †."

The affairs of the Hanover allies now wore the most favourable aspect. The States-General had acceded to the treaty of Hanover on the ninth of August 1726, and Sweden and Denmark at the commencement of the ensuing year. On the 23d of March the trenches were opened before Gibraltar ; and Philip anxiously expected the co-operation of the emperor
and

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, Paris, March 31, 1727.

† Whitehall, April 6, 1727. Walpole Papers.

and Russia. But the situation of Charles was considerably changed : he was disappointed of the subsidies from Spain, he was awed by the assembling of the hessian, swedish, and danish troops, subsidised by England and France, and alarmed at the approach of a french army, collecting on the frontiers of Germany ; he was deserted by the circles and princes of the empire, he dreaded the defection of Prussia, and was dispirited by the death of the czarina. He therefore made private overtures to cardinal Fleury, and hastily negotiated the preliminaries of a peace, without the consent or knowledge of Spain, with England, France, and Holland, which his plenipotentiary signed at Paris, in the name of his master, and the king of Spain, on the 31st of May.

Philip, thus deserted by his only ally, seeing his frontiers exposed to the invasion of France, his coasts menaced by the english fleets, and his treasures detained in America, was compelled to accept the conditions obtained by the emperor ; and the preliminaries were signed at Vienna in June, by his ambassador the duke de Beurnonville.

But this favourable aspect of affairs was overclouded by the sudden death of George the First, who expired on the 51st of June at Osnaburg, on his journey to Hanover.

CHAPTER 15.

1727.

Critical Situation of Mr. Walpole on the Death of George the First—Cabals of the Jacobites at Paris—Rumours of a Change in the British Administration—Conference with Fleury—Letter from the Cardinal—Departure of Mr. Walpole—Arrival in London, and Audience of George the Second—Letter from the King to the Cardinal—From Mr. Robinson to the Duke of Newcastle—Mr. Walpole returns to Paris—Spain refuses to ratify the Preliminaries—Opposite Views of the Allies of Vienna and Hanover—Warlike Preparations—Anecdotes of Marshal Berwick.

THE death of George the First placed Mr. Walpole in a critical situation. The news no sooner reached Paris, than the jacobites, particularly Atterbury, who considered the commencement of a new reign as a favourable juncture, caballed for the restoration of the pretender, and openly displayed the most sanguine hopes of success. Their hopes were strengthened by the officious declarations of Montgon, who was considered as the confidential agent of Philip, that their cause would be supported by the whole force of Spain, that a reconciliation was on the point of taking place between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and that England would be compelled to drive the house of Brunswick from the throne, and re-establish the lawful sovereign*. Rumours were likewise circulated,

* Montgon afterwards weakly and confidentially avowed these sentiments to Mr. Walpole; and informed him that he had written a letter to the queen of Spain's confessor, predicting great troubles in England, and urging Spain to act accordingly; but the cardinal diverted him from sending the letter. Mr. Wal-

pole to the duke of Newcastle, August 16, 1727.

Montgon has detailed a curious conversation with Fleury, who was anxious to learn whether the king of Spain would interfere in favour of the pretender, on the death of George the First. The abbot speaking of his restoration, with

circulated, that if the accession of George the Second was undisturbed, a change of administration would take place, lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole be driven from the helm, and Mr. Walpole recalled from Paris. Reports were no less industriously spread, of Fleury's duplicity, and his equivocal insinuations construed into positive declarations in favour of the pretender.

Mr. Walpole, who had vouched for his sincerity to the british cabinet, requested an immediate interview with the cardinal, who was with the king at Rambouillet. Fleury repaired, without delay, to Versailles, where a conference took place on the following day. This interview dissipated in a moment all doubts, if Mr. Walpole may be supposed to have entertained doubts, of the cardinal's sincerity. Fleury received him with the highest marks of cordiality, testified the strongest personal attachment to him, and the greatest regard for his brother; and expressed his earnest wishes that no change of administration might take place in England. He renewed his solemn assurances, that France would not interfere in the government of England, and would inviolably maintain the engagements between the two crowns. After this amicable conference, which lasted till near midnight, Mr. Walpole returned to Paris with an intention to forward a messenger to the british ministry; but had scarcely arrived before he received a letter from the cardinal.

“Versailles †, 26th of June 1727. After having reflected, sir, since your departure, on all the measures to be taken, under the loss which we have recently sustained, I am persuaded that your excellency cannot do otherwise than repair instantly to London, to receive in person the orders of his britannic majesty, and explain to him the situation of the present affairs, of which he cannot, as yet be duly informed. Your excellency will do more in one or two conferences, than in volumes of letters; and you can settle with his britannic majesty all things which may concern the common interests of the Hanover allies. From the manner in which your excellency has spoken of the new king, I doubt not but he will follow

full certainty, the cardinal, after reiterating his good wishes, added, “But it is useless to feed again on chimeras, and it is a chimera to believe that the death of George the First will make any change in England. Nothing less than a

miracle will operate in favour of the pretender.” Tom. v. p. 5.

† The original letter, of which this is a translation, is among the Walpole Papers, in the cardinal's own hand.

follow the same principles and the same system as the king his father. In regard to us, your excellency may assure his britannic majesty, that we will not depart from that system; and that our reciprocal security consists in being firmly united.

“ I have only to add the assurance, sir, of the share which I take in your regret, and that I shall honour you my whole life more than any other person on earth.”

In conformity with this prudent and friendly advice, Mr. Walpole departed instantly from Paris, and on his arrival at London found his friends extremely embarrassed, and uncertain of their destiny. The king had announced a resolution to place Sir Spencer Compton at the head of the treasury, in the room of Sir Robert Walpole ; and the opposition expected that a mixed administration of Whigs and Tories would be appointed ; while queen Caroline was labouring to conquer the king's aversion to Sir Robert Walpole, and to convince him that a change of the ministry, at this period, would be unfavourable to his interests.

In this uncertain state of affairs Mr. Walpole was admitted to an audience, experienced a cold reception, and found the king extremely dissatisfied because he quitted his post without orders. As an apology for his sudden departure, he delivered the letter from the cardinal, which appeared to soften the king's resentment. Mr. Walpole availed himself of this favourable change to display the state of foreign affairs, confirmed the sentiments of the french cabinet, contained in the letter of cardinal Fleury, and, after an audience of two hours, was dismissed in terms of approbation.

This interview, and the letter of Fleury, assisted the endeavours of queen Caroline in favour of the ministry ; and fixed the king in his resolution to maintain the same system which his father had pursued. Impressed with these sentiments, he wrote, with his own hand, a gracious letter to Fleury, which announced his full approbation of Mr. Walpole's services, and his confidence in the cardinal's sincerity.

" My Cousin, Kensington, the 20th^{*} of June 1727.

“The obliging manner in which you expressed your wish, that my ambassador Walpole should instantly depart to give the most positive assurances

* O. S. 1st July, N. S. This letter is translated from a copy preserved in the Walpole Papers.

assurances of the intention of my good brother, the most christian king, to cultivate that union which is so happily established between the two crowns, as well as his desire to perfect the great work of a general pacification : and the strong expressions you have used in your late letter to the said ambassador, to testify your zeal for the public good, and the particular interest you take in every thing which regards my government, have so moved me, that I would not defer shewing you how much I am sensible of it ; and of acquainting you with my decided resolution to pursue the same wise and fair measures which have placed affairs in their present happy situation, and to draw closer the bonds of friendship which unite me to his most christian majesty.

“ I, with pleasure, embrace this opportunity to testify my high sense of your merit, my reliance in your sincerity, and the good will with which I am,

“ My cousin,

“ Your affectionate cousin,

“ GEORGE REX.”

The extreme satisfaction which the cardinal expressed, at the reception of the king's letter, is described by Mr. Robinson in a dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, dated Paris, July 4, 1727. “ Your grace's other dispatch, inclosing his majesty's letter to the cardinal, required immediate execution ; and having heard that his eminence was at Issy, near Paris, instead of accompanying the french king, as it was thought he would have done, to Rambouillet, I sent thither to demand his leave, and his hour, for my waiting upon him ; which he having given for any time of the day, I did not lose a moment in going to present to him the king's letter, which his eminence opened and read in my presenee ; and it was easy to perceive, by his looks, what sensible pleasure it gave him, even before he expressed, as he did in the handsomest manner and words, his acknowledgements and thanks for so high and early a mark of his majesty's esteem and affection.

“ He told me he had indeed been already prevented with the hopes of having a place in his majesty's good opinion, by what count Broglio had acquainted him of the king's sentiments and regard for him, which his majesty had so strongly expressed at that minister's last departure from

England. He repeated often being no less pleased with the civilities that were then made by the prince of Wales, than with the distinction now shewn him by the king.

“ As I found that this circumstance seemed to have made much impression upon his eminence, I could not forbear, in order to make him as sensible as lay in my power of his majesty’s personal esteem for him, to acquaint him, that when I was in England, and had the honour to be presented to the king, his majesty, in enquiring after France, had had the goodness to turn the questions he was pleased to make me entirely to the cardinal’s subject, and particularly with relation to his eminency’s health, and to his drinking the waters at that time. ‘ And had the king that goodness ? ’ replied the cardinal, ‘ and was it possible he should know I was drinking the waters ? ’ ”

“ I beg pardon, my lord, for mentioning these little incidents of conversations ; they are little indeed, but, even as such, may perhaps serve to shew how extremely pleased and flattered the cardinal is with his majesty’s past and present goodness to him.”

The cardinal was equally pleased with the account of the king’s quiet accession, and was particularly gratified with the paragraph of the declaration to the council, which expressed a resolution to “ cultivate the alliances entered into by the late king, for restoring the tranquillity and preserving the balance of Europe, and to improve and perfect this great work, for the honour, interest, and security of his people.”

Mr. Walpole hastened to announce, in a letter to his friend the cardinal, the gracious reception he had experienced from the king his master, and the strong impressions which the letter had made in his favour. And he concludes by observing, “ Your eminence may be fully satisfied that, both in regard to foreign and domestic affairs, every thing will go as you wish.”

This letter was written on the 3d* of July, and on the 4th Sir Robert Walpole was re-appointed first lord of the Treasury, lord Townshend and the duke of Newcastle secretaries of State ; Mr. Walpole received his new credentials, but delayed his departure to Paris at the express command of the king, who required his assistance at the ensuing session of parliament,

* 22d June, O. S.

parliament, when the increase of the civil list, and the jointure of queen Caroline, were to be moved by his brother.

The session* was uncommonly short and tranquil. The two houses agreed to support the king in all his foreign engagements, and the commons voted an addition to the civil list, with the single dissenting voice of Shippen.

After the unanimous proof of attachment and loyalty displayed by the parliament, the presence of Mr. Walpole was no longer necessary. He returned to Paris on the 18th, and on the 22d was received by the cardinal with increased esteem and cordiality. They acted together more like friends than ministers, and renewed their mutual endeavours to establish the tranquillity of Europe, which the death of George the First seemed likely to disturb.

Philip, flattered with the hopes of commotions in England, and of the concurrence of France, delayed the execution of the preliminaries, declined raising the siege of Gibraltar, and refused to restore the prince Frederic, a ship which he had taken from the South Sea Company. He was privately encouraged by the emperor, who expected new subsidies from Spain, and made vast preparations to open the campaign in Germany, by attacking the electorate of Hanover, and the united provinces. Europe was again threatened with hostilities ; and the same chain of negotiations was to be recommenced, as had preceded the signature of the preliminaries.

The allies of Hanover were not disconcerted by this change of affairs ; England continued to reinforce her naval armaments, and to summon into the field the subsidiary troops. France resisted the specious offers of Spain, and the machinations and threats of the emperor, and concurred with England in forming a plan of hostile operations, to pour their combined forces into the heart of the austrian dominions.

This contest, which united the rival powers of England and France on one side, and of Spain and the empire on the other, exhibited a no less extraordinary phænomenon in the annals of history. Marshal Berwick, natural son of James the Second, was employed in concerting with Mr. Walpole,

* The Session opened the 27th June, O. S.

Walpole, the brother of the great Whig minister, and supporter of the Brunswic family, operations against the emperor and Spain, who, on their side, were meditating to place his brother, the pretender, on the throne of his ancestors.

James Fitz-James was natural son of James the Second, by Arabella Churchill*, sister of John duke of Marlborough. He was born in 1670, at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, as his mother was returning from the medicinal waters of Bourbon, and in the seventh year of his age was sent to France to be educated in the roman catholic religion. He was destined to the profession of arms; at seventeen he served his two first campaigns with the imperial troops in Hungary, against the Turks, and signalised himself at the siege of Buda, where he was wounded, and at the battle of Mohatz. He was created duke of Berwick in 1687, and at the revolution accompanied his deposed father into France.

During the campaign of 1690, in Ireland, he particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Londonderry, and at the battle of the Boyne, where he had a horse killed under him. In 1703 and 1706 he commanded the french army in Spain, and re-established the affairs of Philip the Fifth, which were in a desperate condition. In consequence of the victory of Almanza, gained in 1707, over the united forces of the English and Imperialists, which contributed to fix Philip on the throne, he was made a grandee of Spain, and knight of the golden fleece, with the title of duke of Liria. He was also created duke and peer of France, under the title of duc de Fitz-James, marshal and knight of the holy ghost.

In 1710 he received a striking proof how highly his military talents were estimated: Marshal Villars, though not quite recovered from the wound he had received at Malplaquet, determined to open the campaign in person; but requested that marshal Berwick might be joined with him, in terms highly flattering. "It is sufficient to inform him, that the king cannot save his kingdom without a battle, and the wings of the enemy
are

* Arabella Churchill, after bearing the duke of Berwick, and Henrietta, who espoused Henry earl of Waldegrave, married colonel Charles Godfrey, master of the Jewel Office, by whom

she had two daughters; the first espoused Hugh Boscawen earl of Falmouth, the second Edward Dunch of Wiltenham in the county of Bucks.



S Harding del

E Harding sc

*your most obedient
humble servant*

Berwick

JAMES MARSHAL and DUKE of BERWICK

From the Collection of the Countess Waldegrave



are led by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene; it is therefore necessary to oppose to them the best generals in his majesty's service*."

Berwick waved the pretensions of his birth and rank, served under marshal Villars until he was wholly recovered, and then resumed his command in Dauphiny.

In 1719, during the breach between France and Spain, he led the french army against the monarch whom he had contributed to place on the throne, and in one successful campaign curbed the daring efforts of Alberoni, and humbled the pride of the spanish monarch. This singular war, between the uncle and the nephew, was rendered still more extraordinary by the hostilities between the father and the son. The duke of Liria was a general in the spanish army opposed to marshal Berwick, and was exhorted by his father to fulfil his duty to the sovereign whom he served.

Berwick was a hearty friend to the act of succession to the throne of France, as established by the treaty of Utrecht, and for that reason was in high favour with the regent duke of Orleans, who entrusted him with the command of the army against Spain, and appointed him in 1721 governor of Guienne and the south western provinces of France, which were most exposed to the aggressions of Philip. In his frequent conversations with Mr. Walpole, with whom he lived in habits of the strictest intimacy, he mentioned that act as indispensable for the peace of Europe and the interest of France; and testified his resolution to take a vigorous part in favour of the princes of the blood, should Louis the Fifteenth die without issue.

He was equally convinced that the union between England and France was calculated for the interest of both kingdoms; and he who had been once so active in the service of his brother, the pretender, considered his cause as hopeless, and even hinted to Mr. Walpole his desire to pay his respects to George the First in person†. He experienced much attention from the king and the british cabinet; he obtained, through the mediation of Mr. Walpole, the payment of a pension, with the arrears due to his mother-in-law, lady Sophia Bulkeley; the king also readily granted him
licence

* *Memoires de Villars*, tom. 2, p. 107.

† Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, April 28, 1727.

licence to visit his mother in England ; but he did not venture to avail himself of the permission, as the act of attainder, which could not be reversed, rendered him liable to be arrested and tried for high treason, though the king condescended to demand the opinion of the attorney-general, and even assured marshal Berwick that he would expose himself to no danger.

During the administration of the duke of Bourbon, he was removed from the government of Guienne, on account of his attachment to the house of Orleans, and was never consulted on affairs of State. But he possessed the confidence and esteem of cardinal Fleury, of which Mr. Walpole records a striking instance, and at the same time does honour to the character and conduct of the marshal:

“ This being the situation and temper of the cardinal upon the removal of M. le Duc, he thought it necessary, considering the mean opinion the world had of the council in the time of his highness (the duke of Orleans), as well as consistent with the dignity of the government, to increase the number of ministers of State ; and his immediate thoughts were to take in the marshals d’Huxelles and Berwick ; the first on account of his popularity, being generally esteemed as a good patriot, of plain downright sense and integrity, and well affected to his country. As to the marshal Berwick, the cardinal has for a great while had a good opinion of his modesty, uprightness and abilities, having thoughts worthy of his quality, and above the little intrigues of women and sycophants at court, which, to do him justice, he always despised, and which is so agreeable to the cardinal’s disposition, that it was no wonder that he put so much confidence in him ; besides, the marshal being the only person fit to command the french army, in case of a rupture. But the cardinal having sounded the sentiments of several persons of consideration here, with regard to the admission of marshal Berwick into the council, he found it would by no means be agreeable to the nation, on account of his not being a frenchman born, and therefore he has endeavoured to make that matter easy to the marshal, who, without doubt, will command the army if there be any occasion ; and I suppose is to have some recompense for the loss he suffered by M. le Duc’s removing him from the government of Guienne. However he still continues to live in the country,

try, and I believe his character in general is, that he heartily wishes the continuation of a good understanding between England and France, in opposition to the emperor: that although he is certainly the protector of the irish officers, who serve in this country; yet I am persuaded that he has no manner of understanding or cabals with them, or with any of the jacobites, in favour of the pretender, thinking it below him to be concerned in such mean and despicable work. He has, besides, a just opinion and respect for the many great and valuable qualitics possessed by his majesty, though it is not to be concluded from hence that he is so good an englishman but that he would still, in case affairs should ever take such a turn as to occasion a war between England and France, command the french army, in any manner suitable to his quality, that he should be directed, in opposition to his majesty or his dominions, as any frenchman would do*."

Marshal Berwick passed his days principally in retirement, at his delightful seat of Fitz-James, until he was again called forth to action in 1733, and had the honour of being opposed to prince Eugene. He was killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Philipsburgh, on the 12th of June 1734, in the 64th year of his age.

Marshal Berwick was in private life a man of high integrity and unsullied honour; in his public character, a general of equal coolness and intrepidity. He was fortunate in all his military enterprises, excepting in the disastrous campaigns in Ireland, when his genius was counteracted by the weak and pusillanimous conduct of his dethroned father, and when his military talents were employed to force upon a free nation a sovereign whom they had deposed.

Montesquieu, in an historical eulogium, which is prefixed to the Memoirs of Berwick, pays a due tribute of applause both to his public and private talents. Speaking of him with the fondness of a friend, who frequented him in his hours of retirement, he says, "It was impossible to see him and not love virtue. I have seen at a distance, in the works of Plutarch, what great men were; in him I behold, at a nearer view, what they are. He had a great fund of religion; no man ever followed more strictly those precepts of the gospel which are most troublesome to men
of

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, Fontainebleau, Sept. 28, 1726.

of the world. In a word, no man ever practised religion so much, and talked of it so little."

Berwick was twice married; his first wife was lady Honora de Burgh, daughter of William earl of Clanricard, and widow of general Swarsfield, created earl of Lucan, by James the Second, after the revolution. By her he had one son, James Francis, who formed the spanish branch of his family, and is often mentioned in the dispatches of lord Harrington and Sir Benjamin Keene, from Madrid, under the title of duke of Liria. His second wife was Anna, daughter of Henry Bulkeley (son of Thomas viscount Bulkeley) by lady Sophia Steuart, who was lady of the bed-chamber to the exiled queen of England, at St. Germain's. By her he had thirteen children, of whom the fourth, Charles, inherited the title and estate of Fitz-James*.

Horace Walpole, the late earl of Orford, paid an elegant tribute of applause and regret to the memory of marshal Berwick, in the person of his grand-daughter mademoiselle de Clermont, (who espoused M. de Vaupilliere,) on her visit to Strawberry-hill:

" Shall Britain sigh, while zephyr's softest care
 " Wafts to her shore the bright La Vaupilliere?
 " Ah! yes: descended from the british throne,
 " She views a nymph she must not call her own;
 " She sees how dear has Stuart's exile cost,
 " By Clermont's charms, and *Berwick's valour lost*."

* For these Anecdotes have been principally consulted the Correspondence of Mr. Walpole, passim; Memoires de Berwick; Vie de Villars, tom. 2; and Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, art. Fitz-James.

CHAPTER 16.

1727—1730.

Reconciliation between France and Spain—Dismission of Morville—Rise and Character of Chauvelin—Dissatisfaction of Mr. Walpole—Extract from his Apology on the remaining Period of his Embassy, and the Conclusion of the Treaties of Seville and Vienna—His Return to England—Succeeded by Lord Waldegrave—Mr. Robinson appointed Envoy to the Court of Vienna.

AT this period the long-expected reconciliation between Spain and France took place. The cardinal imparted to Mr. Walpole the whole progress of the negotiation, which he had contrived to take out of Montgon's hands, and conduct by means of the papal nuntios at Madrid and Paris. In communicating the draughts of the letters from Louis the Fifteenth to the king and queen of Spain, Fleury endeavoured to obviate the impression which this event would make on the british cabinet, by declaring to Mr. Walpole, that he had written to the king of Spain, to testify his regard and friendship for England, and his resolution to maintain the union subsisting between the two kingdoms; adding, that he had likewise endeavoured to dispose his catholic majesty for a reconciliation with England. "To this I made," observes Mr. Walpole, "no opposition in my discourse with the cardinal, as being understood to be an accommodation of a family difference, as what I have all along appeared to approve, and what is so popular in France, that any dislike to it, on my part, might have had an ill effect upon the cardinal, especially when it is offered without any conditions disadvantageous to his majesty, or that can tend in the least to separate France from England*."

This event was soon followed by another, no less unfavourable to the views

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, Paris, August 3, 1727.

views and interests of England, the appointment of Chauvelin to the offices of garde des Sceaux and secretary of State.

As a prelude to this change, the office of chancellor was taken from Armenonville, the father of Morville, and restored to the venerable d'Aguesseau*, who had filled that high station with great integrity under Louis the Fourteenth and the regent, and was dismissed in 1722 by cardinal du Bois. Although the place of chancellor and of garde des sçeaux, or keeper of the seals, were two distinct offices, and the seals were not demanded; yet Armenonville quitted Versailles, in disgust, on the 17th of August, and resigned them to the king, through the hands of his son. The resignation of the father was expected to be followed by the dismissal of the son; and Chauvelin, who was to succeed Armenonville as garde des sçeaux, was also designated as the successor of Morville.

Morville had rendered himself disagreeable to the king of Spain by his attachment to England; and, on the first overtures of a reconciliation, insinuations were conveyed to cardinal Fleury, that his removal from the office of secretary of State, would please their catholic majesties. He had endeavoured to infuse jealousies into the minds of those who were attached

* Henry Francis d'Aguesseau, descended from an antient family of Saintonges, was son of the intendant of Languedoc, and born at Limoges in 1668.

At the age of twenty-three he so much distinguished himself as avocat-general of Paris, that Talon, president à mortier, said of him, "I would gladly finish as that young man has begun."

In 1700 he was promoted to the office of attorney general; but offended Louis the Fourteenth, by the freedom with which he delivered his sentiments against the Bull *Unigenitus*. On the death of du Voisin, in 1717, he was created chancellor and garde des sçeaux; but on the following year was deprived of the seals, for his inflexible opposition to the system of Law. He was reinstated in 1720, and again exiled in

1722, for refusing to give precedence to cardinal du Bois.

Like his immortal predecessor, the chancellor de l'Hôpital, he was a man of the strictest honour, integrity and disinterestedness; like him, he was attached to literature, and versed in the study of the mathematics, and, for his skill in that science, was consulted by the English on the reformation of their calendar.

He was now appointed chancellor, but was not reinstated in the office of garde des sçeaux, which was deemed a hardship, because it was the most lucrative post, until the removal of Chauvelin in 1737. In 1750 he resigned the seals on account of his advanced age, and died in the ensuing year.—Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, and Dictionnaire Historique, art. d'Aguesseau.

tached to the cardinal ; he had likewise personally offended him, by holding private conferences with Montgon, and by caballing with the duke of Bourbon, and forming a scheme to unite the princes of the blood against his administration.

Flcury, impressed with these sentiments, had for some time entertained a resolution to dismiss Morville ; but deferred the execution of his design, until he had found a proper person to substitute in his place ; and maintained the most inviolable secrecy, from a delicacy to his friend Mr. Walpole, and to avoid exciting cabals in the court. In this state of suspense, Chauvelin was introduced to his notice by marshal d'Huxelles, and other persons attached to the system of Louis the Fourteenth.

Germain Louis Chauvelin, descended from a noble family, distinguished in the military and civil line, was born in 1685. He followed the profession of the Law ; and after successive promotions, was, at this period, president à mortier of the parliament of Paris*. He was remarkable for quick apprehension, indefatigable application, and facility in transacting business ; and possessed pleasing manners, and a conciliating address. " He was," to use the words of Mr. Walpole, " a busy lawyer, of some parts and knowledge ; of a most treacherous, false, and ambitious spirit ; but, at the same time, of an assiduous, supple, dissembling, and insinuating disposition, where it was his interest to please†." He had fortunately been useful to the cardinal by his influence in the parliament, and by supplying information relative to the foreign and domestic affairs of France, in which the narrow genius of Morville was deficient. He derived his knowledge principally from some valuable manuscripts, which he purchased with the library of the president Harley, and abridged and digested with great skill and assiduity.

He availed himself of the first favourable impressions which his manners and information made on the cardinal, and which were strikingly contrasted with the confined, phlegmatic, and dilatory spirit of Morville ; he was forcibly recommended by marshal d'Huxelles and the Pecquets, who were under-secretaries of State, and by other persons who possessed influence

* Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, art. Chauvelin ; Branche de Grisenoy.

† Mr. Walpole's Apology.

influence over the cardinal. His principles were decidedly hostile to the union between France and England; and he was no less warmly disposed to renew the antient connection between France and Spain.

The nomination of a man of his character and principles, could not be agreeable to the british cabinet; and Mr. Walpole, who had never experienced any difficulty in his transactions with Morville, expostulated with the cardinal for admitting, into the chief conduct of business, so dangerous an assistant. But though Fleury entertained great personal regard for Mr. Walpole, and was anxious not to displease the british cabinet, yet he was too independent to be controlled in the nomination of his co-adjutors. He therefore persisted in his choice; but excused his conduct, by stating the necessity of removing Morville, on account of his incapacity and petty cabals, and the difficulty of finding a person so proper to succeed him as Chauvelin.

When Mr. Walpole adverted to his character and principles, and mentioned him as a creature of marshal d'Huxelles, the cardinal replied; "I am sensible M. de Chauvelin has many enemies, who envy him; but I have made a strict enquiry into his behaviour, and the facts alledged against him, and have no manner of reason to suspect his not being an honest man. Of his capacity nobody can doubt; and you will soon find, notwithstanding any airs the marshal d'Huxelles may give himself, that M. de Chauvelin will be entirely devoted to my will and directions. I must request you," he added, "to take no notice of M. de Morville's removal, which I have, as yet, mentioned to no one but yourself; although he is to resign this night, you will, with the rest of the ministers, have an audience, as usual, of him, without seeming to know any thing of the matter*."

Fleury renewed, in the strongest manner, assurances of his inviolable attachment to the strict union between the two crowns; and still further to remove Mr. Walpole's apprehensions, caused Chauvelin to declare, in his presence, "that he would co-operate, under the directions of the cardinal, in supporting the same system and measures, that had been hitherto pursued with such good success; and would endeavour to deserve the intimacy and friendship of the british ambassador."

Notwith-

* Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, August 16th, 1727.

Notwithstanding these professions, Mr. Walpole felt the extreme embarrassment of his situation, as appears from a curious passage in the Diary of lord Waldegrave*, who was waiting at Paris till he could proceed on his embassy to the court of Vienna.

“September 22. This morning Mr. Walpole went to the cardinal, who gave him fresh instances and assurances of his designing to stand by us in our pretensions about the prince Frederic. Mr. Walpole told the cardinal, every body said that nothing but his answering for his eminence made people believe him in earnest; that the dutch minister at Madrid said they had nothing else for it; that, in fine, it was the common talk. To which the cardinal answered in obliging terms, and cleared Mr. Walpole from all fears on that account; though Mr. Walpole, walking the day before with Mr. Pestors and me, seemed under a good deal of uneasiness at his own situation; since, should the cardinal prove false, Mr. Walpole having so continually answered for him, would make him liable to pretty severe censures. Mr. Walpole, in a jocular way, told the cardinal, that if his eminency cheated or deceived him, the consequence would be, that he, Mr. Walpole, would be censured, and probably sent to the Tower for five or six months; but his eminence would have that said of him that would hurt his character, and consequently his person, more than any harm that could happen to Mr. Walpole.”

In fact, Mr. Walpole seems to have so fully appreciated the difficulties he had to encounter, from the intriguing spirit and hostile principles of Chauvelin, that he was desirous of retiring; ‘but he was sensible,’ as he says himself, ‘that his connection with the ministers at home would not suffer him to resign his station in France, while negotiations of such extent and moment were carrying on there with great activity.’

I cannot better conclude the account of Mr. Walpole’s embassy at Paris, and of the complicated negotiations at the congress of Soissons, where he was one of the plenipotentiaries, than in the words of his own Apology.

“It

* James, first earl Waldegrave, was son of Henry, baron Waldegrave, of Chewton, in Somersetshire; and distinguished himself for his diplomatic skill, as ambassador to the

courts of Vienna and Paris. For a further account of him, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chapter 38.

“ It is unnecessary here to enter into a detail of several disagreeable particulars, that occurred to Mr. Walpole’s close observation, of M. Chauvelin’s intimacy with certain persons, no friends to the good understanding between England and France. His fallacious and equivocal way of talking and writing to different persons, upon matters of great moment, relating to both courts, gave Mr. Walpole great disquiet. The cardinal, indeed, used his utmost endeavours to remove all his jealousies, and redress his complaints ; yet Chauvelin, by his address, flattery, and indefatigable attention, to ease and please his eminence, had gained such an interest and credit with him, that the remaining part of Mr. Walpole’s ministry in France was disagreeable and painful. However, the union between England, France, and Holland, continuing firm in all their measures, the precarious and changeable state of the emperor’s affairs, (now the payment of subsidies from Spain has been stopped,) made that court extremely uneasy, and desirous to see the queen of Spain more tractable. At last Philip’s health was grown so desperate that the queen was alarmed, and caused the preliminaries to be ratified at the Pardo, in March 1728 ; and the congress of all the ministers concerned, was soon after signified at Soissons.

“ It would be tedious to specify the artifices employed there, and particularly the practices of count Sinzendorff, upon the pliant and pacific temper of the cardinal, to create jealousies and divisions among the allies of the Hanover treaty. Those vain attempts had no other effect than to draw the imperial ministers themselves, tired with their disagreeable situation, into a negotiation of a plan for a general peace, with those of the Hanover allies, without the consent and concurrence of the spanish plenipotentiaries. And although count Sinzendorff would not venture to sign it, yet these separate proceedings so exasperated the Spaniards, who had got intimation of them, that they made the most pressing and reproachful instances to the imperial ministers to fulfil the articles in their secret engagements, particularly with regard to the marriages between the two families ; to which they received nothing but dilatory and evasive answers. Their catholic majesties highly resented this treatment ; and, from bitter expostulations, they came, in a manner, to a direct breach with the emperor ;

peror; and consequently, as the transactions of the spanish court were usually sudden and violent, they lost no time to discover a disposition to come to a better understanding with England and France.

“ The plan of a treaty, for that purpose, was projected by Mr. Patino, prime minister at Madrid, and transmitted from thence to monsieur Chauvelin, (who was thought to have had a private correspondence with that court, separately from the cardinal;) and he having readily adopted it, took care immediately to represent it in so favourable a light to his eminence, as what would put an end to all differences, and make a perfect peace with Spain, that the cardinal, having nothing more at heart, seemed mightily pleased, and flattered himself that it would be agreeable to the british plenipotentiaries, Mr. Stanhope (now lord Harrington) Mr. Poyntz, and Mr. Walpole. But when the project came to be considered by them, they found it composed of articles conceived in terms very loose and vague with respect to the interest of England, leaving our antient privileges of trade with Spain, and the right for our possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, to be contested and decided before other powers. They represented to the cardinal, how impossible it was for them to approve so deficient and imperfect a scheme, letting him know that England had been engaged in a war with Spain, by the siege of Gibraltar, which had made all treaties between those two crowns void; that the first and fundamental step to be taken for a reconciliation, and an absolute peace, must be a specific renewal and confirmation of all treaties, on the same foot, and in as ample a manner, as they had subsisted before the troubles began. His eminence was extremely disturbed and embarrassed, and gave the strongest assurances, that the british plenipotentiaries might depend upon the same steadiness and fidelity, on the part of France, to support them in the discussion of their just rights, as she had shewn in the whole course of the negotiations. But they being too well apprised of the artful designs of Chauvelin, to keep the pretensions of England in an unsettled state, and in a manner at the mercy of France, and of the great power and influence he had gained with the cardinal, which they plainly intimated to his eminence, gave him to understand, that they could by no means be satisfied with his plausible declaration and assurances; and left him

him in a very peevish and discontented mood, without coming to any determination, until his majesty's sentiments and instructions upon this subject should be known.

“ The conduct of the plenipotentiaries was extremely approved at Hanover and England, and they were directed to draw the plan of a plain, explicit, and decisive treaty, with a renewal and confirmation of all former treaties with Spain, leaving nothing to be discussed and decided by the intervention of other powers; and the disputes relative to captures (which could not possibly be determined by any other way) to be settled, as usual in cases of the like nature, by commissaries to be appointed by Great Britain and Spain.

“ The british plenipotentiaries having accordingly framed such a plan, Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Poyntz earnestly pressed Mr. Walpole to go to Versailles and communicate it to the cardinal, in a particular conference with him alone, and to employ his utmost address and influence, which had so long subsisted and prevailed in the most difficult conjunctures, with his eminence, to induce him to agree to their plan. Mr. Walpole, considering the great ascendant which Chauvelin had gained over the cardinal, and how strongly he had prepossessed him in favour of another scheme, was diffident, for the first time, of his success, and extremely unwilling to act by himself in a matter of such importance. However, as his colleagues thought there was no other possible means of serving his majesty, in such an exigency, he waited upon his eminence, at six o'clock in the morning of a day appointed for that purpose, at Versailles. The cardinal received him with a cheerful countenance, but a civil reproach for having not seen him for a considerable time. Mr. Walpole having then desired and obtained of his eminence an order to his servant not to be interrupted by any visit whatsoever, during his conference with him, (upon the result of which he gave his eminence to understand the good intelligence for the future between England and France, as well as the finishing or prolonging the troubles in Europe, would absolutely depend,) he proceeded to read to his eminence, article by article, the whole plan. This conference not only lasted the whole morning, but Mr. Walpole having dined with his eminence alone, it was continued some hours after.

after. Mr. Chauvelin attempted several times to be admitted, as having earnest business with his eminence; but the valet de chambre*, according to his orders, and being ever Mr. Walpole's friend, would not so much as deliver the secretary of State's message to the cardinal while the conference lasted.

“ Not to enter into the observations and answers that passed on both sides, in the perusal of the articles, his eminence approved them all, and proposed no material alteration; and with his hand gave Mr. Walpole the most solemn assurances that he would support the project in council with his authority, should there arise any opposition to it.

“ It is easy to conceive what satisfaction the success of this conference gave Mr. Walpole's colleagues, whom he had left in a desponding way in the country, and in particular Mr. Poyntz. His dejection of mind had flung him into a nervous fever; he soon recovered his health and his spirits.

“ But I cannot omit mentioning an anecdote on this occasion, when Chauvelin could not prevail with the cardinal to make the least alteration in this new plan, marshal d'Huxelles, (with whom Chauvelin often previously concerted matters of State, in confidence, independent of the cardinal, and without his knowledge,) upon hearing it read in council, was struck on a heap; and although, seeing the cardinal's firmness in recommending it to the french king, he would not venture to speak against it; yet, in a week after it was approved, he resigned his place as minister of State, pretending his ill state of health, but telling his particular friends, in private, that he would not sit in council to obey the dictates of an english ambassador, and act subservient to the interest of that nation.

“ In transmitting to England the project of a treaty, when it was agreed and settled in France, Mr. Walpole would not suffer an account of its having been effectuated by his particular weight and credit with the cardinal, as a merit due to him separately from his colleagues, to be mentioned in their joint dispatch; and therefore this anecdote was known to some few friends only.

“ This plan having been sent to Spain, supported by the orders of the cardinal, to Monsieur Brancas, the french ambassador, that court immediately acceded to it, which, in consequence, entirely dissolved all manner of connection between the emperor and their catholic majesties, and disposed

* Barjac.

disposed the first, being disappointed in all his chimerical views, to renew his antient good understanding with his majesty, by a treaty signed at Vienna, March 16, 1731; to which the States acceded in 1732.”

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, lord Townshend resigned, in consequence of a misunderstanding with Sir Robert Walpole*. This misunderstanding had deeply affected Mr. Walpole, not only from his obligations and personal attachment to lord Townshend, but from unjust surmises that he was instrumental in fomenting the division, with a view to succeed in the office of secretary of State. He frankly avowed his disapprobation of lord Townshend's violent plans against the emperor; but declared to their common friend, Mr. Poyntz, that should his lordship quit his post dissatisfied, no person or consideration in the world should prevail upon him to accept it, if offered to him. He did not belie his promise; but when that unfortunate event took place, declined the offer, and promoted the recommendation of the duke of Newcastle, in favour of his friend and co-adjutor at the congress of Soissons, Mr. Stanhope, afterwards earl of Harrington.

On his resignation of the embassy, Mr. Walpole supported the appointment of lord Waldegrave, who had displayed great skill and abilities in negotiating with the french cabinet while Mr. Walpole was attending his duty in parliament in 1728, and in conducting, with equal address, the affairs of England, as ambassador at the court of Vienna. “I must own,” he observes to his brother, “I think lord Waldegrave as proper a person, as minister, as could possibly be sent hither; for, besides his having a very good understanding, his supple and inoffensive disposition is the best talent against the artifices of monsieur Chauvelin: for, as his lordship will have caution and prudence enough as to take nothing upon himself without orders, he has at the same time patience and phlegm enough to parry the dangerous attempts and insinuations of the other, without disobliging him †.”

His instructions to lord Waldegrave, on this occasion, explain the method which he employed to manage the temper and gain the confidence of Fleury: “I think your lordship has done extremely well to cultivate, if possible, a friendship with M. Chauvelin, because you find that he has
such

* See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 37.

† Correspondence to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. 9, p. 8.

such an influence over the cardinal ; but as M. Chauvelin's friendship, I believe, is found to be very shallow and *journaliere*, I am of opinion that you should now and then talk very forcibly to the cardinal, and make him the confidence of distinguishing him, with regard to integrity and good intentions, from any other minister. I know he loves that distinction, and, if applied in a proper manner, and on the topic of sincerity, he is liable to flattery ; and you may venture, on a foot of confidence, to go great lengths with him, even with regard to his own sentiments, as well as to the conduct of other ministers in France *."

Mr. Walpole was also highly gratified with rewarding the zeal and fidelity of Mr. Robinson, by obtaining for him the appointment of envoy and plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, where his address, activity, and prudence, during a period of eighteen years, justified the propriety of the recommendation.

The services of Mr. Walpole, during his embassy at Paris, were highly appreciated by the british cabinet ; and the letters, both private and public, of the duke of Newcastle, lord Townshend, and Sir Robert Walpole, are filled with the highest eulogiums of his conduct. It would be endless to enumerate the passages ; but an extract from one letter of lord Townshend will suffice : " You have exerted yourself all along with uncommon talents in the management of those important affairs under your care. But as to these last efforts you have made, it is impossible to express the satisfaction your zeal, abilities, and success have given universally. I congratulate you most heartily on your serving your king and your country, with so much capacity, and a superior spirit in business. * * *

* * * * You will find, by what the duke of Newcastle writes, that the king consents to give you leave to come ; but I must take the liberty, at the same time, to tell you, that as all the letters from France are filled with the highest commendations of your extraordinary address, influence, and credit there, so they dread and lament the ill consequences of your absence in this most critical conjuncture, that no one can be capable of supplying your place, and that the business will fall and flag when you are gone †."

* Mr. Walpole to earl Waldegrave, Cockpit, Jan. 14, 1731. Waldegrave Papers.

† Lord Townshend to Mr. Walpole, Whitehall, Jan. 4, 1727-8.

CHAPTER 17.

1730—1735.

Mr. Walpole appointed Cofferer of the Household—Sent privately to the Hague—Object of his Mission—Nominated Ambassador—Difficulty of his Situation—Characters of Slingelandt and Fagel—Views of the Prince of Orange—Mr. Walpole's Account of his Negotiations.

ON his return from his embassy, Mr. Walpole was graciously received by George the Second; and queen Caroline was pleased to express to him her particular satisfaction for his diligence, fidelity, and success, in negotiations of so much perplexity and trouble, and ever afterwards gave him distinguishing marks of her confidence and protection*.

The favour of the king, the protection of the queen, and the ascendancy of his brother, ensured to him a distinguished office in the State; but his unaspiring temper, and dread of exciting jealousy, by the elevation of two brothers to the highest posts of government, induced him to decline the most advantageous offers, and he accepted the post of cofferer of the household. In this post, as well as from his relationship to the prime minister, he had constant access to the closet; and whenever he was consulted, always gave his advice with sincerity, and with a freedom which offended the king, and sometimes even displeased queen Caroline.

Mr. Walpole had the satisfaction of contributing to the conclusion of the treaty of Vienna, which was retarded by the difficulty of settling the dispute between the emperor and the king, as elector of Hanover, and from the suspicions which the imperial court entertained that the Walpoles were unfavourable to the house of Austria. A letter from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Robinson, at this critical juncture, removed these impressions, and

* Mr. Walpole's Apology.

and conciliated prince Eugene, who had been principally instrumental in opening and conducting the negotiation.

“The best answer,” writes Mr. Robinson to Mr. Walpole, “I can make to the honour of your letter, is to send you a treaty, to which it certainly contributed much. Nothing was more seasonable; and luckily it was seconded by the faithful reports which a courier about that time brought from monsieur Kinsky, concerning yours and Sir Robert Walpole’s sentiments. The moment I received your letter I read it to the prince, and can only say, in one word, he was charmed with it. The business is now done, I will not say well or ill; if well, I desire, sir, you will take to yourself the reputation of it, whatever good I have in me I owe to your example; if ill, I must, as I ought, take to myself the shame of having made no better advantage of what you are pleased, in your letter, to call the intimacy and confidence with which I lived with you for many years at Paris, and of the opportunities I had of knowing your most secret sentiments*.”

“Thus,” to use the expressions of Mr. Walpole, “the situation of affairs in Europe, which had been flung into the greatest convulsions by the wild and extravagant projects of enterprising ministers, to flatter and satisfy the pride and ambition of certain powers, was, by the firm and prudent conduct of his majesty, brought back to a calm and natural state, without the calamities of a general war. And notwithstanding the impotent efforts of pretended and discontented patriots, to vilify an administration whose employments they wanted, joined with a desperate clan of disaffected jacobites, to distress a government they would gladly subvert, no prince was ever in a higher point of glory and respect, from all foreign powers, for the steadiness and wisdom of his measures, than his majesty was at this juncture; nor any ministers in greater credit and esteem abroad, than those who were employed in the direction and execution of these measures†.”

Although Mr. Walpole had no ostensible part in administration, and did not hold a responsible office; yet his extensive and accurate knowledge

* Mr. Robinson to Mr. Walpole, Vienna, March 20, 1731. *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 100.

† Mr. Walpole’s Apology.

ledge of foreign affairs, his profound sense and manly spirit, rendered his advice highly useful. He was consulted by the king, queen Caroline, and his brother, in all affairs of importance; and was employed in drawing up, or revising, the principal memorials, manifestos, and other State papers, which were issued during the remainder of his brother's administration. From 1730, the period when he quitted his embassy at Paris, till October 1733, Mr. Walpole continued in England, assisting his brother by his efforts in parliament, as well as by his co-operation in the transaction of foreign affairs. At that period he was sent to the Hague on a secret mission of great importance, which occasioned his subsequent nomination to the post of ambassador to the States General. The causes which led to this mission will be best related in his own words:

“ Upon the death of the king of Poland, the opposite declarations and measures on the part of the emperor and France, in favour of the royal candidates, occasioned a rupture between those two powers, although his majesty and the states had caused the most friendly and earnest representations to be made at the court of Vienna, upon the imprudence of taking any step that might hazard a war with France, on account of a polish election; a contest entirely foreign to the concerns of England and Holland, in their defensive alliance with the emperor. The Dutch found that the imperial court had on this occasion immediately stript the barrier towns of 10,000 men, part of 16,000 they were obliged by treaty to keep there in time of peace, by removing them to Luxemburgh, and declaring that the maritime powers must take upon themselves the care of the barrier; that the important fortresses of Mens, Aix, and Charlcroy, which ought to be garrisoned by the imperial troops, were entirely defenceless, without fortifications, magazines, or men; and that France had engaged the kings of Spain and Sardinia in the war against the emperor. This exposed situation made the ministers of the States think themselves obliged, for their immediate security, to enter into a negotiation with the french ambassador at the Hague, for a neutrality, by which it was agreed that the States would not concern themselves in the affairs of the polish election, nor in the troubles that might be in consequence of it; France agreeing, on her part, not to carry the war into their low countries, nor attack their barrier. This unexpected declaration surprised his

his majesty ; but before it was formed into a resolution, Mr. Walpole, on account of the credit which he was supposed to have with the ministers and members of the States, from his former negotiations at the Hague, and the confidence with which he had acted towards their ambassador at Paris, was sent to Holland with instructions to endeavour to divert the States from concluding a precarious neutrality with France. But the defenceless condition of their frontiers, and the formidable power of France in their neighbourhood, had pushed on that affair so fast, that it was in a manner concluded before his arrival there. However, Mr. Walpole prevailed with the pensionary to get a clause inserted in that act, by which the States reserved to themselves a liberty to fulfil their engagements with the emperor, with whom they had contracted alliances, as well as with France. This left a door for them to take a part to stop the progress of the french arms, when the exigency of affairs and their common danger should make it practicable, in a government so weak and divided.

“ In the mean while the imperial court was as solicitous in their instances with his majesty and the states, to join in his defence, as the french were to shew them that the emperor had been the aggressor, by concurring in violent measures with Russia, to interrupt the freedom of the polish election.

“ It being evident that this perplexed situation of affairs must necessarily bring on negotiations of a very nice and difficult nature, Mr. Walpole was ordered again to repair to the Hague, with the character of ambassador, to act at this critical juncture in confidence and concert with the States. Cardinal Fleury had caused the most plausible and pacific declarations to be made in England and Holland, of his readiness to accept the good offices of his majesty and the States, for accommodating the difference between the emperor and France. The imperial court, on the other hand, was as positive and peremptory in rejecting them ; not bearing to hearken to any terms, until the maritime powers should have previously declared themselves in his favour, and sent, as guarantees, succours to his assistance, which gave France a great advantage over them, by her apparent disposition towards a peace.

“ Mr. Walpole, to whom the late queen was always extremely gracious, endeavoured, by his credit with her, to decline the acceptance of an employment,

ployment, which he foresaw would give him infinite trouble, and was liable to many inconveniences and reproaches, according to the nature of events, and the readiness of a factious party, then in parliament, to condemn all measures, though executed with the greatest fidelity and judgment. But her majesty having promised him her countenance and protection, he undertook this great, but disagreeable office, at this critical juncture."

Considering the situation of Mr. Walpole in England, unincumbered with a responsible office, enjoying the favour of the court, and delighted with his improvements at Wolterton, it is not a matter of wonder that he accepted with reluctance a post full of embarrassments. The government of the United Provinces was still in a state of discord and anarchy; and the difficulty of conciliating the different interests was increased by the views of the prince of Orange, and the jealousies of the republican party.

His friend pensionary Slingelandt still retained his great influence and authority in the counsels of the republic, and was inclined to promote the union with Great Britain; but he was a martyr to the gout, and his temper naturally warm, exasperated by pain, was become peevish and intractable.

His other friend, the greffier Fagel, in whom he reposed the fullest confidence, and whose mild temper was not soured by age, was equally attached to England; but, by the reserve of Slingelandt, was almost excluded from the knowledge of foreign affairs*.

William

* In some of his confidential letters to Mr. Trevor, Mr. Walpole contrasts the mild and placid temper of greffier Fagel, with the fretful and inflexible spirit of the pensionary.

Hampden Papers.

"If the pensionary," he says, "had M. Fagel's temper, it would be pleasant to do business; but we must bear with men as they are, and do as well as we can.

"January 23, 1735. I told you, in my last, I had received a peevish letter from the pensionary; I now send you a copy inclosed, with my answer. It is a great pity the pensionary, who is otherwise so great a man, will on any

occasion that does not please him fret himself so much.

"October 14, 1736. As to what the two great ministers said to you, they both talked in character. The greffier is so mild in his temper, that he dreads the effect of the least step taken in their distracted government, that is not agreeable to you all: the pensionary is so rough, that he cannot give his real or imaginary reasons, upon a point where he is particularly to act the minister, with common decency. What a pity that such a billingsgate tongue and temper should belong to such an excellent understanding!"



Ivan Slingelandt

IVAN SLINGELANDT

GRAND PENSIONARY of HOLLAND

From the Collection of the Earl of Hardwicke



William prince of Orange had now attained his majority ; and with the fervour of youth, and the elevation of an aspiring mind, ill brooked his exclusion from the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by his family. His views were encouraged by the ardent temper of his consort, the princess Anne, eldest daughter of George the Second, and by his expectations of the support of his father-in-law. He was, therefore, eager to involve the States in a war with France, that he might be appointed generalissimo of the dutch forces ; a promotion which might lead to the revival of the stadholdership in his favour. The natural jealousy which the republican party entertained of the house of Orange, was increased, as well by this alliance, as by the imprudent zeal which George the Second had displayed in favour of his son-in-law. The French availed themselves of these suspicions, to increase their own party, and thwart the designs of the british cabinet.

The Hague, at this critical juncture, became the centre of business and intrigue ; the british ambassador at Paris acted principally from the impulse of Mr. Walpole ; his correspondence with cardinal Fleury was revived, and the negotiations with the different powers of Europe passed through his hands.

“ Not to enter,” continues Mr. Walpole in his Apology, “ into a detail of the various and interesting transactions, public and secret, that passed at the Hague on the part of the respective powers concerned in this embarrassed state of affairs, Mr. Walpole, perfectly well acquainted with the pusillanimous and pacific temper of the cardinal, took care, in his correspondence and concert with lord Waldegrave, then his majesty’s ambassador at Paris, that his eminence should be kept under constant apprehensions of Mr. Walpole’s being able, by his memorials, and other representations to the ministers and members of the States, of the dangerous consequences to the republic, from the formidable progress of the confederate arms, to engage them at last to take a vigorous part in favour of the emperor as a common cause. And it is certain, that his eminence was so affected and alarmed with this apprehension, that, notwithstanding the artifice of Chauvelin to keep up his spirits, and that the armies of France and her allies continued victorious on all sides, he would not suffer the spanish and sardinian forces in Italy, as it had been projected,

and was very practicable, to take Mantua, lest it should have animated the maritime powers to declare war in support of the emperor; and his eminence was not easy, until after having set on foot several negotiations in several ways, and at several places, the preliminaries for peace were signed at Vienna in 1735.

“ And I believe it may be affirmed, without vanity, that this management between Mr. Walpole and lord Waldegrave, seconded by pensionary Slingelandt, in his letters to the dutch ambassador at Paris, in keeping the cardinal in perpetual agitation and fears of a general war, saved the important city of Mantua, the key of Italy, from falling into the hands of Spain.

“ I cannot conclude the Apology for Mr. Walpole's conduct, at this great epoch, without making one observation. His majesty was extremely desirous to give the emperor assistance in this war with France; and it is imagined that count Kinsky flattered the imperial court with such expectations. But the minister, who had the greatest credit with the king, by having the greatest penetration and judgment in affairs, represented how difficult, if not impracticable, it would have been, after the States had agreed to a neutrality with France, and the kings of Spain and Sardinia had actually joined in a war against the emperor, to have prevailed upon the parliament to grant supplies for carrying on so extensive a war, of which this nation must have borne the greatest, and in a manner the whole burthen; especially as the cause of it was a dispute about a polish election, and could not be looked upon to be the concern of Great Britain, nor a case in which the emperor had a right to demand succours by virtue of his defensive alliance; and that if the parliament could have been brought into such a war, it was morally impossible that the utmost efforts of this nation, with those of the emperor, could have resisted so powerful a confederacy. His majesty, by the credit and salutary advice of that minister, in which the rest of his servants, in the confidence of affairs, (for, as powerful as he was, he never would let his own opinion, in matters of State, prevail against the majority of them concurred,) was diverted from taking any part but in concert with the States, with a view to bring matters, by their joint good offices, to an accommodation between the belligerent parties; or if the dangerous consequences,

sequences, attending the progress of the confederate arms, should have sufficiently alarmed the Dutch, and made an impression that might have induced them to join in defence of the emperor, that his majesty should have readily joined with them in a plan of vigorous measures for that purpose.

“ However, the king was extremely displeased with this state of an inactive neutrality, in being prevented from giving the emperor assistance, which Mr. Walpole perceived in several conferences he had the honour to have with the late queen, by her majesty’s own desire, on this subject ; and, as she might be apprehensive that it might diminish Sir Robert Walpole’s credit with the king, she would, in an ironical manner, reproach Mr. Walpole, by saying to him, *That Sir Robert would have gone into the war, but you would not let him ;* by which Mr. Walpole plainly understood, (and let her majesty see that he did,) that it was better his majesty should be displeased with Mr. Walpole, than with Sir Robert ; and it is very possible that, for that reason, the queen might, in discourse with the king, have laid the fault of disappointing his majesty’s inclinations to succour the emperor upon Mr. Walpole, and that it may have made a lasting impression upon his majesty’s mind to his disadvantage.

“ But here I cannot forbear adding, that the late queen was pleased to honour Mr. Walpole with her most gracious approbation of his conduct, by letters constantly wrote with her own hand, during his negotiations at the Hague, while she was regent in England. The good opinion of so wise and judicious a princess, who had always the public good at her heart, not only supported his spirits in the most unpleasant and fatiguing station, but has ever since flattered him with conscious satisfaction of his having done his duty, and the best that could be done, for the service of his majesty and his country, in so great and difficult a conjuncture*.”

* Mr. Walpole’s Apology.

CHAPTER 18*.

1735—1737.

Letter from Mr. Walpole to Queen Caroline—He remonstrates against the premature Communication of the Plan of Pacification to the Imperial Court—Relates his Efforts to re-establish the Union between England and Holland, the Origin of the Secret Convention, and his various Negotiations at the Hague—Extracts from Queen Caroline's Letters to Mr. Walpole.—Continuation of Mr. Walpole's Apology—He accompanies the King to Hanover as Secretary of State—Danger of the King in his Passage from Helvoetsluys—Letters from the Princess Amelia and Queen Caroline—Mr. Walpole's Remarks on Sir John Barnard's Bill.

THE interesting correspondence with queen Caroline, to which Mr. Walpole alludes in his Apology, was so frequent, that the letters, if preserved, would fill a volume. Many of these letters have been destroyed; but several fortunately still remain. The greater part were inserted in the Correspondence which accompanies the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole; one, however, which was written at this period, and was not published in that collection, contains a curious account of the origin, progress, and conclusion of the secret convention with cardinal Fleury†, and Mr. Walpole's transactions at the Hague, and evinces the manly freedom with which he delivered his sentiments, even in direct contradiction to the wishes of the king and queen, and the views of the british cabinet.

Mr.

* The commencement of this chapter, which contains several letters between queen Caroline and Mr. Walpole, was mislaid by the author, till several of the subsequent sheets were printed. This page is therefore cancelled, and, to prevent

confusion, the additional pages inserted are marked with asterisks.

† For an account of this secret negotiation see chap. 44, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

Mr. Walpole to Queen Caroline.*

“ Madam,

“ The unexpected step in communicating to the imperial court, without a previous concert with the States, the plan of accommodation, seems liable to so many dangerous consequences, and has put me under such difficulties with respect to his majesty’s service, that, not knowing where it may affect, I have reserved my sentiments of it for this particular and confidential letter to your majesty only.

“ I must beg your majesty’s goodness and indulgence to believe that what I am going to say does not proceed from ill-humour, or a disposition to find fault with what is done and cannot be recalled, but from a desire, if possible, to obviate future mischiefs, which, if I rightly apprehend the motives of this measure, will constantly, if care be not taken, embarrass his majesty’s affairs.

“ I must beg your majesty’s patience for reading a short account of the rise, progress, and present state of this negotiation, as necessary to put my thoughts into a clear light, and to enable your majesty to judge whether it is better to pursue a plain, regular system, built with strength and caution, by a natural coherence and a proportional relation and dependence of the parts on one another, or by the impulsions of sudden starts and flights, to disorder the whole, and reduce a great work from the hopes of perfection to the hazard of the utmost confusion, which I apprehend may probably prove to be the case from this communication; ready at the same time to be transported with joy if I should, as I hope in God I shall be, mistaken.

“ Upon the war breaking out between the emperor and France, on account of the polish election, the antient confidence and intimacy, (the best guaranty of their mutual interests and security,) between England and Holland, for what reasons I will not enquire at present, was on a very precarious foot, and the measures to be taken at so great a crisis for their common safety and the public good, were entirely disconcerted and running counter to one another, which induced his majesty to send me hither in October was twelve months, to sound the intentions of the States,

* The draught of this letter, in Mr. Walpole’s hand-writing, is without a date; but it was evidently written in the beginning of 1735.

States, and reconcile the counsels between his majesty and them to one accord at a conjuncture so important.

“ This mission was thought by some of his majesty’s servants, unacquainted with foreign affairs, as useless and vain, they being persuaded that the Dutch had taken their *ply*, and, by the bias and tendency of their actions, particularly on account of the neutrality for the Low Countries then on foot, were determined, without consulting his majesty, to act in confidence with France.

“ Upon my arrival here, I found indeed the principal ministers (whose former ideas and system of politics were, to my knowledge, built upon a strict union between the two nations,) prepossessed with the most unreasonable and unaccountable notions of his majesty’s intentions and actions, both with respect to their government and the state of affairs in Europe, and for that reason, being at the same time extremely ill-used, as they thought, by the imperial court, disposed to manage so formidable a neighbour as France is to them. But as yet they were got no farther into a confidence with France than what was necessary to conclude the act of neutrality relating to the Low Countries, which, on account of the barrier towns under the emperor’s care being destitute of troops, ammunition, and every thing requisite for their defence, and for want of a due concert and harmony with England, they considered as the only means to preserve the Low Countries, and consequently themselves. On the other side, I found the antient friends of England and the present establishment fully persuaded that his majesty was entirely under the directions and influence of the imperial court; that he had entered into all the engagements and measures concerted by the Emperor, Muscovites and Saxons, for opposing the election of Stanislaus by force, and consequently that he was obliged and determined to take part in the war, had given the emperor private assurances of it, and that by degrees the States were in a manner to be forced into it too, and that the putting a stadholder at the head of their government was part of the scheme concerted by the imperial and british courts. My antient acquaintance and intimacy with the pensionary and the greffier, ministers of undoubted abilities and integrity, and always disposed to make the union between England and Holland the basis of their politics and measures, soon gave me an opportunity
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to destroy these ill-grounded prejudices and preventions, against his majesty's counsels and measures, by shewing them that his majesty had no other concern than that of good offices in the affair of Poland, was under no engagements but what were common to the States, and was desirous to act in concert with them in the present great and critical juncture. At the same time I had the pleasure to discover, that the opinion entertained of them in England, of this government having flung themselves absolutely into the hands of France, was equally groundless; and I had the satisfaction of removing these prejudices, on both sides, by degrees to bring matters to a perfect good understanding, and a resolution to pursue the same measures jointly in counsels and actions, with respect to the troubles that threatened the public tranquillity of Europe.

“ Having settled this great point, of a mutual harmony between his majesty and the states, and also a particular correspondence between lord Harrington and the pensionary in matters of the most secret nature, I returned to England; and soon after my arrival, the states, in consequence of this harmony, came to a resolution to sound the emperor and France whether our offer of good offices would be accepted; and this was transmitted to England for his majesty's concurrence, which I thought so natural a step, in consequence of what I had done, that there could have been no difficulty in it; when, at a meeting of some of his majesty's servants, I was surprised to find most of them, with lord Harrington at the head, for various and different reasons, against agreeing with the States in this point; and even the person* on whose opinion and influence I chiefly depended, changed his mind, and so I was left alone, with nobody on my side but lord Wilmington and the duke of Newcastle, when he came to town; but to no purpose. I had nothing to do but to let them know my mind, in foretelling that it would create new jealousies and coolness between the english and dutch administration; and five weeks time being spent without returning an answer to the resolution of the States, the confidential correspondence which I had settled between lord Harrington and the pensionary was, by sharp expostulations, at once confounded. In the mean time the opposite resolutions and memorials that had passed between the imperial ministers and the republic had brought

* Sir Robert Walpole.

brought things, as far as words could go, to the greatest height of animosity and resentment; and a misapprehension of their respective views and designs, in the papers that had passed between England and Holland, had begun to create such strong expostulations as would have occasioned a paper war, instead of an amicable union, between his majesty and the States, had not care been taken to put a stop to such extremities, by sending me again over, in last May, to this country, with proper instructions for reconciling the differences between us.

“ I arrived here soon after the vote of parliament was passed for reposing an entire confidence in his majesty concerning the augmentation of his forces; and I could not imagine but that the carrying with me such a mark of the parliament’s regard for the king, by strengthening his hands in such a manner as to give him the greatest weight and influence in his deliberations about the affairs of Europe, would have made me acceptable to my old friends, and particularly the pensionary; but, on the contrary, in the first visit I made him, confined to his bed with the gout, he looked upon me in such a manner as if I was come to drag him away by force, and place him as a dutch deputy to fight against France. Having let him cool, and taken opportunities of seeing him alone, (for Mr. Finch* was present at the first visit,) I desired to know, in a quiet way, the occasion of such agonies and transports. His respect and decency for the king’s person made him at first very reserved, until I told him it was impossible to cure a disease without knowing the nature and symptoms of it. He then, shewing all possible respect in his expressions towards his majesty, gave me to understand, that the principal regents of the government were of opinion, that his majesty was actually concerned in private engagements with the emperor, independent of the States, and had given the strongest assurances to his imperial majesty that he would give him his assistance; that he must temporise for the present, but that the emperor might depend upon his (the king’s) declaring in his favour; and that this vote of confidence was procured, not with a view of giving weight to negotiations, but with a design to make use of it for engaging in the war, and force the States into it, if possible, along with him; and that the king’s bias, as elector, in favour of the emperor, would get the better

* At that time british envoy at the Hague, until he was superseded by Mr. Walpole.

better of all other considerations with regard to England and Holland, and that his majesty's readiness, in that quality, on being the foremost to dispose the empire to declare war against France, when the empire had taken no precautions nor measures to be in a condition to carry it on, was what had increased among the regents the jealousies they had entertained of his majesty's warlike designs.

“ I had the happiness to state his majesty's views, in the quality of king as well as elector, in such a light as to undeceive the pensionary on the extravagant notions unjustly conceived here, and to give him entire satisfaction, by shewing how impossible it was for his majesty, after the siege of fort Kehl, to do otherwise, as a prince of the empire, than he had done; that as king he had sent me once more, with the strongest assurances and instructions to act in perfect union and concert with the states in every step that should be taken in the present state of affairs in Europe; and that the vote of confidence could not fail of having the effect for which it was calculated in giving great weight to their joint measures and negotiations; and that all that the king desired was, that in consulting together some means might be found out for keeping inviolably secret what should pass in conferences until things should be brought to a maturity for being communicated as a joint resolution, and that a particular committee should be appointed for the purpose to treat with me. The form of their government would not permit such a distinction to be made among their deputies: however, an oath of secrecy being taken by them, the conferences were carried on without the least discovery of what passed, either by the french or imperial ministers, until the resolution, taken in the name of his majesty and the states, for the offer of good offices, to the respective powers, for accommodating matters, was actually communicated to them.

“ It is material to observe here, that the resolution in consequence of the particular confidence established between his majesty and the states, of keeping inviolably secret from all other powers what should pass between his majesty and the states, was equally disagreeable to the imperial and french courts.

“ The imperial court was extremely desirous of acting in conjunction with the maritime powers; but as they had no other view but to involve

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his majesty and the states in the war, perceiving the backwardness of the republic to engage, their whole care and attention was to obtain a particular and previous concert with the king, and by that means to draw the states into the troubles they endeavoured to avoid. Count Uhlfeldt also expressed his great uneasiness to me at the secrecy of the maritime powers, and what he called his majesty's preference of the friendship of the states to that of the emperor; and nothing would content him but my bullying the states into a resolution to declare in favour of the emperor against France.

“The french court, on the other side, was thunderstruck with this union and secrecy of measures established between us. Mr. Fenelon was surprised to the last degree when he saw me present at a conference which the deputies had desired with him, and Mr. Chauvelin expressed his great concern at it. It destroyed all his hopes of being able to carry on the war as long as he pleased, without any fear or check, while England and Holland were diffident of one another, and had separate measures and views. My old friend, the cardinal, was so alarmed that he made Mr. Van Hoey* dispatch an express to the pensionary, with an account of a confidential discourse his eminence had with him, all turning upon his apprehension of my journey and conduct in Holland.

“Having had the good fortune to settle an entire confidence of counsels and actions between his majesty and the states, (which, once for all, madam, I hope your majesty will give me leave to observe, must at all times be absolutely necessary in foreign affairs, for the interest and security of both,) I returned to England to give his majesty an account of my conduct, who was pleased, after a short stay, to order me back hither again, in the quality of his ambassador, with instructions to continue my best endeavours to maintain that confidence which had been so happily restored between his majesty and the states.

“Upon my return hither, having communicated to the pensionary a letter I had received from Mr. Gedda †, intimating, in stronger terms than ever, the cardinal's disposition to bring matters to an accommodation, with a desire to have an opportunity of conversing with me on that subject.

* The dutch minister at Paris.

Mr. Walpole occasionally carried on a secret

† Swedish envoy at Paris, by whose means

correspondence with cardinal Fleury.

ject. Mr. Slingelandt thought this letter, which was ridiculed in England, of moment enough to deserve an answer, which I having drawn, and obtained his majesty's approbation of it, and sent it to France, it had such an effect as to lay the foundation of the secret correspondence that has passed, and is advanced so far since between the cardinal and me.

“ It is not to the present purpose to enter into the particulars of that secret negotiation, which is so fresh in your majesty's mind ; but it may not be amiss to observe, that it took its rise from the effect which the re-establishment of the union between his majesty and the states had upon his eminency's mind. In order to destroy this correspondence, Mr. Chauvelin charged Mr. Fenelon with a particular letter, wrote with the confidence of the french king, the cardinal and himself only, offering to enter into a particular and secret correspondence with Mr. Slingelandt, unknown to every body else, for the immediate and lasting security of the states.

“ This letter extremely embarrassed the pensionary, being apprehensive, on one side, that if he shewed it to others, considering the then state of affairs, with respect to the emperor, they might have given attention to it, and been inclined to hear what France would say, for the particular interest and safety of the states, which would immediately have put a stop to the correspondence between the cardinal and me, and by degrees might have dissolved the confidence newly established between his majesty and the states.

“ On the other side, to sink this letter without communicating it to the principal regents of Holland, at least, while in the mean time my correspondence with the cardinal might come to nothing, or any thing might happen, from the different opinion of measures or otherwise, to occasion a fresh coolness between England and Holland, the pensionary would be exposed to the utmost resentment of the states, to whom he is accountable for all matters relating to their interest that come to his knowledge. However naturally inclined to preserve the good understanding with his majesty, and firmly convinced by the reasons suggested to him, of his majesty having the same intentions with respect to the states, he made no other use of this extraordinary letter and offer from France, but to com-

municate it to me in confidence, as an instance of his zeal to strengthen the bond of union between the two nations.

“ When the cardinal began to speak out in his letters to me, and required as a condition for his doing it, in plain terms, the most solemn assurances from the pensionary and me, to have the secret inviolably kept, and that it should be agreed on both sides to disavow the whole if any part should get air; this condition embarrassed the pensionary extremely, and he sagaciously observed to me, that if this negotiation should employ a great deal of time, and break off at last without a good issue, this obligation of secrecy would put it out of his power to justify his conduct to the states. However, from the consolation of being under the same engagement with the british minister, he resolved to consent to it, and to take, in the mean time, the proper precautions for his security by his great skill and address in his management of the states of Holland, and the deputies for foreign affairs. Of all these steps, I have, as they occurred, given an account to lord Harrington; and therefore, I shall touch upon them no farther than is necessary to show, when I come to that point, the danger the pensionary may be exposed to, with respect to himself, and the inconveniences his majesty’s interest may be exposed to from a dissolution of the confidence between his majesty and the states, which may be occasioned by this separate and untimely communication of the plan to the emperor.

“ The pensionary having communicated, under great secrecy, to two or three of the regents of Holland, in general terms, what was transacting with the cardinal, he caused a motion to be made in the states of Holland, founded upon the nature of affairs in the present state of Europe, to show the necessity of keeping the secret in the negotiations to be held with the british ambassador, and consequently of reposing a particular trust in some person or persons, for carrying on that negotiation, which, after some debate, without a formal resolution, was understood to be the pensionary. He then obtained a resolution among the deputies of the states-general for foreign affairs, which concluded with showing, that it would be impossible to negotiate with success unless France could have sufficient security of the secret being kept; which opinion being supported by memorials delivered by me, the difficulty still remained about
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the method of doing it, which the pensionary settled, by obtaining, in a private conference with them, a verbal consent that they would permit him to negotiate, in confidence with me, where and in what manner he should think fit, without giving an account of what passed, until matters should be ripe for their participation, and for taking a resolution upon them ; they giving at the same time the strongest assurances not to impart what should be confided to them, either to their colleagues or the states-general, nor to make a report of it to their respective provinces, but by common consent.

“ This foundation being laid, and confidence reposed in the pensionary, supported his spirits in our private transaction with the cardinal, and made him resolve not to give the least account of that part of the negotiation to any of the deputies, and not to lay the plan of accommodation before them, until it was finally adjusted with his majesty, and ripe for an immediate resolution, without any time for reflection or alteration ; and his great comfort at the same time was, that neither the imperial nor french, nor indeed any of the foreign ministers, would be able in the least to penetrate what had been doing.

“ Thus matters stood, when I received an account of the communication having been made first verbally to Kinsky and since by a messenger dispatched to Mr. Robinson, of the plan of accommodation, without any notice or concert with the pensionary ; and here I am to observe to your majesty, that by a word which fell from count Uhlfeldt, in talking of count Kinsky’s courier that passed this way, by way of reproach for my not telling him any thing that had passed, I suspected some such step had been taken. My suspicions are, I find, but too true ; and I am flung under the greatest difficulty and perplexity of mind, notwithstanding the discretionary power given me to acquaint the pensionary or not with this step.

“ Should I acquaint the pensionary with it, I should cast him into the greatest agonies of despair to see, after the indefatigable pains taken to re-establish a particular confidence between his majesty and the states, and that at the king’s most earnest request, under the seal of secrecy ; and after that secrecy had been confirmed by an authority and trust reposed in him, scarce ever known before in this government, and after a hopeful
prospect,

prospect, that by a joint concert of measures previously taken by his majesty and the states, and by holding the same language with firmness and union both to the emperor and France, we should be able to bring those two powers to reasonable terms of accommodation, and after the pensionary had been so jealous and careful of the secret, as not to let any part of it transpire to any of the states, not even to those concerned in the secret affairs, and indeed to nobody but to two or three of the province of Holland. After all this, to see the secret discovered to one of the parties concerned in the war, from whom it should have been principally kept, until opened in a proper manner by a joint application and influence of his majesty and the states ; I say the knowledge of such a communication must needs cast him into the greatest agony, with respect to himself, as being exposed, if the communication should, as most things do, transpire at Vienna, to the utmost danger of censure and reproaches, to say no worse, from his masters, for having kept them in the dark so long about a business of such moment, of which the emperor is sooner apprised than they. And with respect to the public, and particularly the union between his majesty and the states, should it ever be known that the discovery of the secret was untimely made by his majesty's servants to the emperor, it must needs weaken the confidence that was so happily established here, by calling to mind the former impressions and preventions, as if the king could not venture to do any thing without the approbation and influence of the emperor, the great inconveniences of which opinion to his majesty's affairs are too obvious, as well as disagreeable to repeat ; into which notion I am afraid the pensionary himself would infallibly fall, if he should be told that this weakness, if I may call it so, proceeded from a bullying menace from count Kinsky, of declaring all the treaties with England void.

“ These melancholy reflections, flowing from the nature of the thing, suggested another difficulty against my communicating to the pensionary this affair in the manner suggested to me by lord Harrington, which was, that the pensionary might think himself obliged, after what has passed, for his own justification and security, to acquaint the deputies for secret affairs with it, that he may wash his hands of all the inconveniences that might follow from such a measure, taken without his consent or knowledge.

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“ On the other side, when I considered the great risk the pensionary would run of censure and reproach from this government, if, while we were managing the secret with respect to his own regents, the communication of it to the court of Vienna should in the mean time get air, as most things that pass there do, and be known here before he had informed the deputies of it ; it would be a cruel thing, after the zeal he has exerted for his majesty’s service, to leave him in that ignorance, and not enable him to take the necessary precautions for his own safety, after all the pains taken and address used by him to conceal the secret, for fear of ill consequences, even from his own masters ; especially since count Uhlfeldt might have made him the same reproach, as he did to me, of being so reserved after count Kinsky’s courier was past by Vienna.

“ These considerations determined me, without acquainting the pensionary with the communication of the plan having been made from England to the court of Vienna, to lead him, if possible, by some other means, into a way that might induce him to take the necessary precautions for his own security, by deferring no longer to let the deputies for secret affairs into the general knowledge of the heads of accommodation, so that they might not be able to reproach him with his reservedness towards them, in case Monsieur Bruynix * should be able to discover the confidence that has been made to Mr. Kinsky or Robinson, or that should come to be known by any other channel. Accordingly, having received, by the same post, orders from lord Harrington, that the plan, when adjusted here, should, before it be offered, be transmitted to his majesty for his approbation ; when I acquainted the pensionary with these orders, I suggested to him whether it might not be time to break to the deputies for secret affairs, in confidence, the substance of the plan, since they appeared extremely impatient, as I had been told, to know something ; and I pressed this affair the more, because I was under, as he knew, an engagement to make the same confidence to the prince of Orange, and his affairs called him immediately to Frise for three weeks, and I would gladly discharge my promise to his highness before he went, since he was to be absent so long. The pensionary, with his usual penetration, combined this hint, and the orders upon which I founded it, with the courier that
lately

* The dutch minister at Vienna.

lately passed by here to Vienna from count Kinsky, and expressed his apprehensions of our having communicated this affair to the imperial court without any concert with the states. He said he saw he was to be the sacrifice of this affair, which would come to nothing, that he was *entre l'enclume et le marteau*; that it was plain his majesty could do nothing without the emperor, and that that plan was not to be finally adjusted until the king had received the sentiments and approbation of his imperial majesty upon it; adding other things, though with all personal deference and veneration for his majesty, relating to the consequences of this step, that I do not care to remember. Having avoided, as much as I could, the discussion of such a disagreeable subject, I kept to the point of obtaining his permission, that I might let the prince of Orange know what I was engaged to do; to which the pensionary consented, and said that he would also, but verbally only, communicate to the deputies, under the greatest secrecy, the substance or heads of the plan.

“ This is the situation of this great affair, for which I beg ten thousand pardons, in giving your majesty so much trouble; and I hope, from your known goodness to have your indulgence and forgiveness, while I add a few observations upon the whole:

“ 1°. I am afraid that the emperor, having obtained this confidence, by the means of a menace from such a child in business as Kinsky, far from appearing to take it kindly, will shew at first great reservedness; will, with much seeming reluctance and reproach, at last give an answer; will require some addition to the cessions to be made him, and a reduction of those to be made to others; and insist as a condition of his acceptance, that the maritime powers shall declare, first, that they will engage in the war on his behalf, if the terms of the plan to be resumed, according to his will, shall not be complied with by the allies in a certain time.

“ 2°. If this condition should be demanded by the emperor, and application shall be made by the king to the states, to consent to it, they will absolutely refuse it; and being fully persuaded, by the emperor's conduct, that his chief view is to lead them into a war, they would be apprehensive that this condition is required with no other design, and that when the emperor has obtained that, he will take care to prevent the peace.

“ 3°. From hence it will be imagined here, as well as from the favourable disposition towards the emperor in England, that instead of his majesty and the states acting in concert and with firmness, to dispose the emperor, as well as the allies, to agree to the terms of peace, the concert will be transferred from the states to the imperial court ; and the imperial and english, instead of the english and dutch ministers, will act together, which, by degrees, will create a difference between England and Holland, and insensibly fling the Dutch into a confidence with France.

“ Lastly, the system so absolutely necessary for preserving the balance of Europe, and consequently the liberties and commerce of the british and dutch nations, by a perfect harmony and union of councils, will be crumbled to nothing. These are my apprehensions, which I hope in God the wisdom and steadiness of his majesty’s councils will entirely disappoint.”

The sincerity and freedom which are so remarkably displayed in this letter seem to have offended the king, and even displeased the queen; for, in a letter to his brother, written about this period, Mr. Walpole observes, “ I am extremely sorry to find that the dress of my letters to the queen is not liked, although the matter is approved : I solemnly protest to you, I do not affect that free style ; but I can no more write otherwise than I can tell how to dress my person better than I do.”

The irritable temper of George the Second was not easily conciliated; but the queen, whose character was more mild and condescending, was soon reconciled to his frankness, and treated him with more confidence than before. A few of her letters are still preserved at Wolterton, from which are inserted some extracts, to shew the extreme condescension of that amiable princess, and the high confidence which she reposed in Mr. Walpole*.

“ Richmond, May 21, (June 1,) 1734. I am greatly obliged to you for your letters ; they are received with pleasure. I make no doubt but you will be satisfied with the answer of to-day : and I flatter myself that your affairs there are in a good train. I congratulate you on the success of your election ; I wish the same success to that of the county. Yorkshire does not go so well ; although all hopes of success are not yet lost. In all other respects every thing goes here according to our wishes.

“ My

* These letters were written in French, and in the translation I have endeavoured to retain the ease and familiarity of the original.

“ My daughter appears contented with her situation. I flatter myself that she will give satisfaction more and more. I intreat you to propose to the pensionary my ptisan as a remedy for the gout, with which he is so grievously afflicted. I cannot but interest myself for the life and health of a person of his merit. I trust that my daughter will find in him a friend, and she will always receive strict orders to do nothing without his advice, and I beg you will tell him so. I do not make you any compliments; you know me too well, sir, not to be assured that I am always the same for you. CAROLINE.”

“ I shewed your letter to the chancellor, who would have known nothing without me. Write, I beseech you, in the same manner.”

“ Richmond, June 15, 1734. I begin with the happy news that you will soon see your family, on condition that you return as soon as your *Superieur* shall judge necessary. Having thus given my orders, I must thank you for what you say in your letter, concerning what I wrote to you about. You know my sentiments for you; and that, notwithstanding your grumbling, I highly esteem you. I pity the poor pensionary more, because his disorder gives him lowness of spirits as well as bodily pain. In short, it is necessary to take men as God has made them, and overlook their frailties as we hope God will overlook ours.

“ Sir Robert will inform you of our affairs, as well foreign as domestic. I leave it to a better hand. He is returned, as you well know, in good humour. He complains less than others, and does not give credit to all the ill reports which are spread of Anne. It appears to me that the gentlemen of Holland might pay their respects to her, although she is in the house of the prince of Orange; not as his wife, but as the king's daughter. It strikes me that this would take away all subject of dispute from the ladies. You know that things are changed in Holland since the time of the princess Mary. She saluted only married women, and single ladies now demand it. The best way to avoid all disputes would be to salute none. The english ladies might wait upon her in private. The french ambassador was, I believe, mistaken, when he spoke of a visit to his wife. I do not believe that Mrs. Walpole ever received one from the french princesses. As for saluting her, that is proper.”

“ Kensington, Oct. 18, 1734. I have received three of your letters
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with pleasure, as I do every thing which comes from the best heart and the most honest man I know. I will send you by Anne my answer to that which I received yesterday. She is very sensible and prudent, and has in many things my approbation.

“I now return to answer that of the 4th. I laughed heartily at the prohibition of not appearing at court, and no less at the history of Henry IV. * * * * *

“I do not see the danger of my daughter’s lying-in at the Hague; she will not be in any one’s way: and a lying-in cannot be dangerous to a government, nor give jealousy, especially if she and the prince of Orange conduct themselves with propriety and discretion; and I believe I can answer for both. It is desired that she should lye-in in Holland; she is thus snatched from my care. I submit to it, however, because it is reasonable: but what reason can there be to remove her still further from me? to make her lye-in in a village, without succour, without assistance, not to reckon the alarms I shall experience after her delivery*. * * * * In regard to her conduct, I am convinced she will endeavour to gain the esteem of all; and if her manners have any effect, she will render herself beloved. But enough of this business.

“I believe we shall soon have an account of the king of Prussia’s death; he is in a most deplorable state. Sir Robert will have informed you that your advice has been followed, and that the man† who is sent appears to be a person of merit; he has succeeded in other affairs, and I sincerely hope he will have the same good fortune in this, which is of the greatest consequence.

“The bishop of Namur‡, from his discourse, appears to me light-headed: we will endeavour to send him away as soon as possible. * * * will deliver this letter, and will acquaint the prince of Orange that my daughter departs on Monday. She goes by Harwich, which is the nearest passage.

“Fritz

* Some of the leading men in Holland seem to have been alarmed lest the princess of Orange should lye-in in England, and remonstrated with Mr. Walpole on the subject.

† She alludes to the secret negotiation just opened between cardinal Fleury and Mr. Walpole, and to the mission of Jannel to the Hague. See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 44.

‡ For the character and intrigues of Strickland, bishop of Namur, who was sent to England as an agent of the emperor, to overturn the Walpole administration, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, *ibid.* See also the spirited letter which Mr. Walpole wrote to the queen on this subject, Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 198.

“ Fritz * is now returned to his good behaviour: we have written for the character of the princess of D. and I intreat you to make inquiries concerning the person, age, understanding, and disposition of the princess of Wirtemberg. Serious thoughts are entertained of marrying him. Make the same inquiries concerning the princess of Gotha † * * * *

“ Here is, my good friend, a long letter; but that which Anne will bring will be still longer. Do not fall asleep in reading it, since it comes from a good friend ‡.”

Queen Caroline fully appreciated the abilities and integrity of Mr. Walpole; and, convinced, from long experience, of his diplomatic talents, recommended him to the king as the fittest person to fill the office of secretary of state. The motives which induced Mr. Walpole to decline this station will best appear from his own narrative: “ In 1736,” he writes in his Apology, “ when the king was preparing to go to Hanover, lord Harrington having fallen under their majesties’ displeasure, the queen let Sir Robert Walpole know that his majesty was resolved to remove his lordship from being secretary of state, and pointed at Mr. Walpole’s succeeding him in his room. But Mr. Walpole, sensible of his own inabilities to discharge so great a trust, and of the envy it would create in seeing two brothers employed in the two principal stations of the government; and being desirous to prevent a division among the ministers, which is always in this country attended with disagreeable consequences, begged his brother not to give any attention to so kind an insinuation from her majesty in his behalf. The queen at last was pleased to tell Mr. Walpole, that his majesty would not suffer lord Harrington to wait upon him again at Hanover; that if his lordship continued secretary of state, he (Mr. Walpole) must attend the king as minister of state to his electoral dominions. Mr. Walpole would gladly have been excused that great and honourable office, for the same reasons, apprehending that if any disagreeable events should happen during his majesty’s residence abroad, that the two brothers, and particularly Sir Robert Walpole, (right or wrong,) would be answerable for the ill consequences. However, he found it impossible to refuse such particular tokens of their majesties’ kind-

* The prince of Wales.

† Augusta, princess of Saxe Gotha, whom he afterwards married.

‡ The princess Anne, in several of her letters, also rallies Mr. Walpole for sleeping occasionally at the queen’s Sunday evening parties.

kindness and good opinion of him ; and having, under the auspices of the late queen's goodness, attended and obeyed his majesty's commands seven months at Hanover, in dispatching the public business, he had the good fortune to conduct himself so as to meet with his majesty's approbation, without the least frown or reproof during the whole time of his ministry. The king was pleased to express his satisfaction for his behaviour often to his ministers and other considerable persons at Hanover, as well as to her majesty and his servants upon his return to England."

During his residence at Hanover in the capacity of secretary of state, he maintained, in addition to his official communications, a confidential correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole, on the state of foreign affairs. The interesting letters which passed between the two brothers are inserted in the Correspondence annexed to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole ; and the history of foreign transactions during the same period is also detailed in that work, which renders it unnecessary to repeat the account.

In December Mr. Walpole quitted Hanover, and accompanied the king to Helvoetsluys, where they were detained by contrary winds. At length the king, impatient to depart, ordered Sir Charles Wager to put to sea, which the admiral declining on account of an approaching storm, his majesty replied, " I have never seen a storm ;" and repeated his commands in so peremptory a manner that Sir Charles was obliged to obey. The king embarked on board the royal yacht, and sailed under convoy of several men of war. They had scarcely got out to sea before a storm arose, which dispersed the ships ; several were driven on the coast of England, the *Louisa* was wrecked, and it was supposed the yacht could not weather the storm. So great was the alarm, that the cabinet council met at the duke of Devonshire's, steward of the household, and preparation was made to issue the proclamation for the accession of the prince of Wales.

On Sunday morning, the queen being at St. James's chapel, a messenger brought a letter announcing the safe arrival of the king at Helvoetsluys. Lord Lifford, who had just returned from walking in the garden, met the messenger, took the packet, went into the church, and delivered it to the queen, saying, " Here is news from the king!" All
present

present were filled with apprehension; the queen was alarmed, and her hand shook so much that she could not open the letter. The duke of Grafton accordingly broke the seal, and immediately declared that the king was safe. This good news was instantly circulated, the service, which had been suspended, was continued, and satisfaction restored.

A letter from the princess Amelia to Mr. Walpole will display the general alarm at the king's danger, and the joy at the news of his safety :

“ December 28. You have been very good and obliging, my good Mr. Walpole, to take the trouble of writing to me, and I assure you my joy is too great to be exprest, that you are all safe at Helvoet. What mama underwent, ever since Friday last, can't be imagined; for she never was easy since she heard that the sloop of the english secretary's office was come here with so much difficulty, and that they had left you all at sea. But a Sunday morning, before nine, Sir Robert came to mama to give her the dreadful account of the three men of war being come, and lord Augustus's ship without masts or sails; then you may imagine what we all felt. We went to church as usual, and about two the messenger came in, and made not only mama and her children happy, but indeed every body. The consternation was great before, and they seemed all to dread to hear some bad news; but now pray be careful, and don't get out till you are sure of seeing our sweet faces, and then we will all make you as welcome as we can; for I cannot afford any more to be so frightened, for we are all still half dead.

“ I pitied poor Mrs. Walpole extremely; but I saw her yesterday, and we thanked God heartily together that you are all safe. Sir Robert hath been very childish, for he drunk more than he should upon the arrival of the messenger, and felt something of the gout that same night; but he is perfectly well again. I hunted with him yesterday at Richmond, and he was in excellent spirits.

“ I thank you, dear Horace, for letting me know so exactly how my sister does; I am very happy she is so well. Mama commands me to make you her compliments; Caroline desires her's to be given you also, and I remain your sincere friend upon land, but hate you at sea; for you take my stomach and rest away, and I love both eating and sleeping.”

He

He was honoured, at the same time, with a letter from queen Caroline :

“ St. James’s, $\frac{11}{23}$ Jan. 1736-7. I received, with great gratitude, the letter containing your kind wishes. The king, as I trust, will soon arrive. * * * * *

“ You may judge of our alarms : you may believe they were much greater than yours, who were exposed to the danger. I am under great uneasiness for Sir Charles Wager.

“ I am charmed with your memorial ; I have given it to your brother, who will communicate it to the duke of Newcastle. He wishes you to continue your work, that he may know your sentiments. You will believe me when I tell you of my impatience for your return ; you will always find me the same.”

Mr. Walpole accompanied the king to England, and attended the whole difficult and stormy session, which commenced on the 1st of February 1737.

The principal transactions which occupied and embarrassed the ministry, were the bills respecting the tumults at Edinburgh, Sir John Barnard’s scheme for reducing the interest of the national debt, the Play-house bill, and the application to parliament for augmenting the revenue of the prince of Wales. Among the correspondence and papers of Mr. Walpole, which are not published in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, I find no additional information on these interesting subjects, except on the scheme of Sir John Barnard. Two letters from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor explain the nature and principle of the bill, unfold the mysterious conduct, and display the embarrassments of Sir Robert Walpole, during the progress of a bill on which the friends of the minister were divided, and even Mr. Walpole was found in the majority against his brother.

“ April 1, 1737. I send you inclosed, although I suppose you may have seen it before, Sir John Barnard’s scheme. It was debated on Monday last, and the impracticability, compulsion, and consequently the injustice of it, was fully exposed by various speeches ; and at last in an ample and ingenious manner by Sir William Yonge, who concluded by what was candid and voluntary, he had no objection to the offering to the proprietors of the redeemable debts carrying 4 per cent. the accepting of 3 per cent. per annum, irredeemable for fourteen years, by a voluntary subscription,

scription, and the coming to another resolution for authorising his majesty to take in subscriptions in the exchequer for annuities carrying 3 per cent. These two propositions were, after some debate, in which my brother Walpole concurred, or rather acquiesced, as what was more fair and just than Sir John Barnard's, which, in every part, was compulsive, (and indeed to put an end to the bank,) passed in a committee without a division.

“ The report being made of these resolutions on Monday morning, those that were against the redemption of the debts, or reducing them from 4 to 3 per cent. moved to have the consideration adjourned for a fortnight. After some debate the house divided, and it was carried in the negative by a great majority. It was a very extraordinary division with respect to persons: my brother Walpole and Sir William Yonge voted for the adjournment; Mr. Pelham and I voted against it; and so it happened in many other instances among persons related to one another in the house, who never separated before; and as none of the Treasury could be named for bringing in the bill, that is left to Sir John Barnard and friends, &c. Particular people that are affected, and especially those in the city, are much hurt, and complain loudly; and I don't doubt they will make their friends uneasy abroad, the consequences of which will be, that those that are frightened so far as to sell their stocks will be bit at last; for in all likelihood their advisers will get into their places.”

“ Cockpit, April 29, 1737. I am now to return you my particular thanks for your favour of the 19th, relating to the proposal for continuing the redemption of the national debt, by offering to the creditors that have 4 per cent. an immediate term of 3 per cent. or opening books for taking in subscriptions for annuities at 3 per cent. These plain propositions, thus stated, shews there is no need to have recourse to any reasoning on the justice or right, on the part of the public, to take this step, if prudent, on account of political considerations; for it is no more than pursuing the same method used to bring the national interest from 6 to 5 per cent. and from 5 to 4 per cent. founded upon the clauses of redemption contained in the acts of parliament made when the money was borrowed, which clauses were inserted at the request of the lenders, who then thought it an advantage to be redeemable. And therefore, whatever the pamphlets may say, of which I have read some, the public, in
this

this case, make no alterations in their contracts; but follow a right they have by their contracts with the proprietors of stocks."

* * * * *

After fully justifying the principle of the bill, he adds; " But to conclude, I do allow that the unpopularity of those that are concerned, who are *legions*, is so great, and consequently their resentment will be so violent, when they feel that policy and prudence (among the great variety of ill-humours that prevail with people of rank, to the prejudice of the government,) makes it well deserve consideration, whether these plain propositions of an offer of redemption, and a right for redemption, should be pushed, and pass into a bill, at present; especially since Sir Robert Walpole, who I take to be the best judge of us all, as to what is most feasible, and most politic for the sake of the whole, in pecuniary matters, continues to be still so much against it, and will make such an opposition to it as will leave no room to doubt of his sincerity in this affair."

In a letter also to the princess of Orange, Mr. Walpole relates the general satisfaction in the city on the rejection of the bill, which fully displays the policy of Sir Robert Walpole, in counteracting the specious scheme of the redemption. A general illumination took place in the city, and the mob were with difficulty prevented from pulling down or setting fire to Sir John Barnard's house; a warning to those who, in the instance of the excise, inflamed the passions of the people, and who would now have experienced, themselves, the dreadful effects of popular indignation, had they not been protected by the officers of government.

CHAPTER 19.

1736—1737.

Embarrassments of Mr. Walpole from the Views of the Prince of Orange—Arrangements relating to the Jointure of the Princess of Orange—Correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole and the Princess on that Subject—Application of the Prince of Orange to obtain Promotion in the Dutch Army—Extracts of Letters from the Princess to Mr. Walpole, and from Mr. Walpole to the Queen—Correspondence of Mr. Walpole on the Illness and Death of Queen Caroline.

IN addition to the difficulties of his public station at the Hague, Mr. Walpole experienced great embarrassments from the views of the prince of Orange, which were supported by the unceasing importunities of the princess. The first object of embarrassment was the settlement of the princess's jointure, the circumstances of which are best explained in his own words.

Mr. Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole.

“ Dear Brother,

Hague, October $\frac{7}{23}$, 1735.

“ I am much embarrassed by my commission relating to the princess royal's jointure ; the case is this :

“ By the marriage articles the princess royal is to have a real security in lands for her jointure, and the remaining 40,000*l.* is not to be paid until that security be obtained. By the laws of this country it is necessary that the lands should be registered to become a real security, and in those cases the 40^m*e* denier, or 40th penny, is paid to government. The prince of Orange pretends an exemption from the payment of this 40th penny, as belonging of right to his family, which is disputed by the States : for this reason the registering is suspended.

“ It has been proposed, that application should be made to the States
for

for permitting these lands to be registered, for a security to her royal highness, without prejudice to either side. The best and most able lawyers say it cannot possibly be any prejudice to the prince of Orange's right; and lord Hardwicke has given the same opinion, and I am ordered to sound the principal regents, to know whether they will come into it. In the mean time his highness declares, that he will, by his friends, oppose, in the States, the granting the permission for enregistering, *sans prejudice*; and if I proceed, there will break out an open opposition between the king and the prince: if I continue to stand still, I do not pursue my orders; and if I give the reason for standing still, which is, that the prince will oppose the enregisterment, I presume his majesty will be extremely angry with his highness for such an unreasonable and unjust proceeding.

“ In the mean time, they ask that the 40,000*l.* should be put out at interest, and the prince should receive the benefit of it; so that although he cannot have the money until the security for the jointure is given, he is to have the use of that money, or the interest of it, without giving that security; which being once fixed in that manner, do you think he will ever consent to give the real security, that is, to enregister the lands? And therefore I submit it to you, without quoting me for it, to consider whether the interest of the 40,000*l.* should not attend the contract relating to it, that is, to be received and reserved for the use of his highness, as soon as the real security is given for the jointure; or else the princess royal, in case of any accident to the prince, will have nothing certain for her jointure of 10,000*l.* per ann. and for the repayment of her portion if there be no children, but this bare 40,000*l.*; the lands will go for the payment of personal debts, and the princess's pretensions will be considered as other personal creditors, and no otherwise.

“ The truth of the matter is, I am afraid, that his highness has contracted great debts upon his obligatory notes, and daily contracts more; and he will find money as long as his lands are free; but as soon as they are tied up for a real security, nobody will lend him any more money, and his present creditors will press to be repaid.

“ But what am I to do in this case? I desire your advice. All that has passed is in the secretary's office; the princess royal is infatuated with

the prince, and they are both angry with me for not concurring in the most unjust proceeding; while, in the mean time, for fear of disobligeing them, or of making them disoblige the king, I forbear doing my duty. Take a serious minute to consider this affair, which perplexes me much."

Many letters passed on this subject, between the queen, the princess of Orange, and Mr. Walpole, before any final arrangement could be made; and the business was principally directed in consequence of his advice. He experienced, however, great anxiety, from the unbending temper of the prince, who was displeased with the expedient to secure the jointure of the princess, in a manner which might prevent him from raising money on his landed property. This expedient was to obtain the consent of the States to register the contracts, by which the jointure was secured on certain estates, without prejudice to the right of an exemption from the payment of the fortieth penny, claimed by the house of Orange. The prince even accused Mr. Walpole of a breach of his promise in divulging this expedient, as appears from a letter of the princess :

" Loo, 14th August. Having found, by the conversation that M. d'Aylva related to me, that you had been surprised at the prince's seeming to reject the expedient you thought of, I would not omit putting you in mind of the promise you made him, not to name it till he had consulted whether he could consent to it. I am entirely convinced that he cannot agree to it, without running the risk of the greatest inconveniences; so that without staying for his return, I must desire you, good Mr. Walpole, to think of it no more. I must own, I should think it a terrible circumstance to have my future security be a pretence of hurting him in present, and think it much better rather to venture not to be so easy as I could, in case he should die, than to find us both uneasy while together. I cannot imagine that papa or mama should be displeased if he cannot submit in this point, which certainly is only by necessity, and depend too much upon their justice to imagine that it should be possible. Mama writes me word that they are going this week to put out the money at interest; that I am very glad of, and believe for the rest there will be nothing to be done but to trust to the prince, not seeing any other way to finish this troublesome affair. I hear you have some thoughts of coming
here,

here, if your business will permit it; I shall always be glad to see my old friend Horace, provided he leaves the ambassador at home, who I must continually quarrel with."

Mr. Walpole was too much chagrined with the conduct of the prince of Orange to be conciliated by the compliments contained in this letter, and justified himself against the imputation of having broken his promise, in a style of manly resentment, which does honour to his feelings.

Mr. Walpole to the Princess of Orange.

"Madam, Hague, August 30, 1735.

"Although I can have no greater honour than that of hearing from your royal highness, I must own I was extremely concerned at the receipt of your letter by M. Brinckman, charging me with having acted contrary to a promise I had made to the prince of Orange; a thing I never remember to have done towards the most ordinary persons, much less would I be guilty of such a crime with respect to his most serene highness, whose personal great qualities and merit (not to mention other very obvious reasons,) have engaged my utmost attachment and veneration. I am sure there must have been some great mistake in imagining I ever promised him not to mention the expedient about enregistering the acts; and if his most serene highness had been regularly informed by his ministers of what had passed between them and me, it is impossible that I should have done it, or that any body could think that I had. I do not indeed remember that any thing like it passed between the prince and me; but the state of facts will make it plain that there must have been some misunderstanding in entertaining a notion of my having made any such promise."

He then enters into a minute detail of the whole transaction between him and the prince's commissaries, which is too long to be inserted, and concludes, "This being a plain and true deduction of this affair, in which I have taken no step without the knowledge of the prince's commissaries, who I ought to presume had constantly given his most serene highness an account of what had passed between them and me, I appeal to your royal highness, from the nature of the thing, whether I could possibly promise not to mention the expedient proposed for securing your jointure,

jointure, and for saving, at the same time, the just pretensions of his highness.

“The prince’s commissaries were acquainted with the expedient when first mentioned; the prince’s commissaries had a long conference in my presence with the lawyer we had consulted about it: they desired to have, and had a copy of that lawyer’s opinion, in which that expedient was contained, by a letter from M. Dayrolle and me; they returned an answer to it, and it was thereupon agreed, and understood, that this whole affair should be referred to their majesties’ consideration and sentiments; and the said commissaries often expressed great impatience at the delay in my receiving an answer from the king’s ministers.

“I say, I take the liberty to appeal to your royal highness, whether these facts do not undoubtedly prove that there must be some mistake in thinking that I had promised not to mention the expedient, and that I do not deserve to be charged with having broken my promise to the prince.”

He accompanied this justification with a more private and conciliatory letter, in which he says, “The vindication of my own honour, by undoubted facts, insensibly drew my letter into a greater length than I intended. After all is said, I am at a great loss to know what to do in your royal highness’s affair. The prince is, I do not doubt, impatient and solicitous to have the 40,000*l.* put to interest. If I press that affair, I am apprehensive that I shall be asked from England what proposals I have made, according to orders, in forwarding the expedient. I have the materials for a memorial ready; but since your royal highness’s letter I have taken no step in it. I wish you would direct me what I am to do, and what I am to say, when I shall be called upon by the secretary of State to know what I have done. If his most serene highness will please to direct some of his ministers to draw out the reasons he has against this expedient, for enabling him to execute the marriage articles, I shall readily lay them before their majesties in the best manner I can. Pray, madam, what can I do more? I would willingly do every thing in my power to shew that I am,” &c.

This tedious affair, after much consultation and delay, was at length
8
finally

finally arranged, by vesting the money in the english funds ; and the princess of Orange does justice to the good offices of Mr. Walpole.

“ Lewarde, Feb. 7, 1736. Finally, Horace, you have honoured me with a letter, and it was high time, for I began to think great people, and quantity of business, had quite made me be forgot ; but I should be in the wrong to find fault, after the pretty conduct you have had ; and seriously I return you thanks, with all my heart, for having taken care to have the proper method settled for putting out the 40,000 pounds at interest, which, I believe, without you, would never have been done, since it has been about these six months, and which I hope will immediately be put in execution.”

“ Groningen, 12th May. Though you have been indeed the most lazy correspondent that ever I knew, my good Horace, since you have been in England, I hope you will mend, now you are at the Hague ; and therefore I would not defer thanking you, for the consideration you sent, about the placing the 40,000 pounds, which the prince and I have submitted to, and have sent to England the proper memorial as you had directed.”

The next object of embarrassment to Mr. Walpole, arose from the extreme eagerness of the prince of Orange to obtain promotion in the army of the republic, which his sanguine disposition led him to consider as a step towards the rank of generalissimo, and to the revival of the stadtholdership ; for which reason his attempts were opposed by the republican party. The princess entered eagerly into his views, and supported his application to the king, by her importunities to the queen, and to Mr. Walpole. A few extracts from her letters will shew the unabating perseverance with which she urged the request.

The Princess of Orange to Mr. Walpole.

“ Dieren, July 4. I was very glad to see, by your letter, my good Mr. Walpole, that you was got safe at your journey's end, and that you had had so happy and quick a passage. I rejoice that you left papa, and the whole family, in good health, and thank you for letting me know what I always have so much at heart. The prince bids me make you his compliments, and will be obliged to you if you will make use of your good offices, in what regards his interest, during your stay at the Hague, especially touching his promotion, which lately has given occasion to so
much

much discourse. He is either willing to write you all the particulars that have passed about this affair lately, or, if you like it better, to send you some person that may set you entirely *au fait* about it; and I believe every impartial body will tell you the violent republicans have found little applause, as to their last resolution, even in their own provinces.”

“Breda, Nov. 14. Finding, by your last letter, my good Mr. Walpole, that you are ready to pass your good offices in papa’s name, for the prince, in the affair of the promotion, I must desire you to take the time, now the States of Holland are assembled, to speak to those members of credit you think proper, and to tell them, that though papa desires nothing for the prince that could give them any uneasiness, he cannot see, with indifference, that some among them would exclude him entirely out of the army, in which all his ancestors have always been employed. And, without my putting any words in your mouth, I am sure your eloquence will find matter enough to exert itself. If you please to speak warmly to them, count de Randwyck, intending to be at the Hague in a few days, will deliver you a letter from the prince, and speak to you more at large upon this subject; but I write this, in order that no time might be lost, if you pleased to prepare matters.”

The answer of Mr. Walpole, and two of his letters to the queen, will exhibit the difficulties under which he laboured, and the frankness with which he delivered his opinion.

“Madam,

Hague, Nov. 9. 1737.

“* * * I suppose your royal highness will have seen what I have wrote to the prince of Orange, in answer to his most obliging letter, inclosing to me a copy of the clear and instructive deduction, which his highness sent some time since to the queen, of all that has passed for his being promoted to the generalship.

“If the voice of reason and justice could prevail, I think there could be no difficulty in the affair; but I find (I am sorry to say it) that unaccountable prejudices and animosities seem to have a greater influence than ever here to his highness’s disadvantage; too great, I am afraid, to be removed by any thing that I can say with any authority whatsoever at this time; and I must not conceal from your royal highness, that there are those whose zeal and affection for the prince, and his interest in every
respect,

respect cannot be questioned, that think his majesty's name will rather increase than diminish the spirit of opposition to his highness's just pretensions in the present disposition of the States relating to the promotions in the army.

"I can sincerely assure your royal highness, that this disagreeable observation does not proceed from any backwardness, on my part, to serve the prince. I have nothing to manage here. There is nothing at present depending, relating to his majesty's particular service, or my own credit, that should check my zeal and inclination to promote the prince's interest to the utmost of my power. Nay, there is nothing wherein my credit, as his majesty's ambassador, can be better employed, if there be the least prospect of its being successful, than in being exerted for the advancement of his most serene highness, according to his dignity, and to the justice he desires in the army. Nothing, madam, could do me more honour, nor indeed pleasure, than to be the useful instrument of so good and meritorious an office.

"The queen's, your royal highness's, and the prince of Orange's commands, not to say any thing of my own attachment and zeal to promote any thing that concerns his highness's honour or interest, cannot suffer me to be cold or indifferent in a matter of this nature; and I shall, in consequence of these powerful motives, (having hinted my apprehensions, founded upon the better judgment of others,) take proper opportunities to speak to the persons recommended to me by the prince, in the manner that shall seem the most probable to forward and obtain what his most serene highness desires, and certainly deserves."

Mr. Walpole to Queen Caroline.

"Madam,

Hague, Nov. 5, 1737.

"Since I had the honour to write to your majesty, by last post, Mr. Duncan has delivered to me a letter from the prince of Orange, inclosing a copy of what his highness wrote to your majesty, relating to his promotion in the army; desiring me, at the same time, to speak in his behalf, to be general of the infantry, to the pensionary, Mr. Opdam, and others, and not to hearken, at first, to any expedient that may be proposed for his accepting a commission of a lower degree.

"The prince's reasons for what he desires, founded upon the dignity

of his own situation as governor of three provinces, and upon antient practice and examples in his own family, are put indeed in the clearest and an unanswerable manner. But the misfortune is, that he has to do with an unreasonable, and at the same time a most powerful opposition; and they, who have a right to vote, will be themselves judges of the reasons for which they give their vote. And these reasons are often such as have no relation to the thing in question; but are founded upon personal preventions, jealousies, and particular views, either of a public or private nature, which they will not openly own, but from which they will not be brought to depart. And I am afraid, madam, this is a good deal the state of the present case.

“The opposition to his highness’s promotion, proceeding from some such motives, is stronger than ever; and, indeed, some of his enemies are so violent, that no reasons or considerations will ever move them. Notwithstanding that, there might be some hopes of serving the prince at a proper juncture; but (I am sorry to say it) the number of his friends, not only in this province, where the most powerful towns will always be against him, but also in the other provinces, even where he is governor, is extremely diminished; several of them having taken the other side; and others, who wish him and his cause well, are grown very cool and indifferent, from reasons mentioned in my last to your majesty.

“However, in obedience to your majesty’s and the prince’s commands, (not to say any thing of my particular respect and attachment to the princess royal and his highness,) my best offices shall not be wanting to serve him as he desires. I have thought fit, for that end, to consult the good old greffier Fagel, and to let him know how well pleased the king and your majesty would be at the prince of Orange’s being promoted according to his dignity. Mr. Fagel immediately, with great concern, made the same melancholy observation, that the credit and interest of his highness was very low among the States; and the few friends he had left appeared silent and indifferent about him. I then told him, that, perhaps, if I should exert myself in his behalf, as what would be agreeable to the king and your majesty, for his being promoted to the generalship of the foot, it might recover and encourage his friends, and damp the spirits of his enemies. The greffier replied, that he would not pretend to

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put his opinion in competition with their majesties, or to divert them from what they might think would be of service to the prince ; and then he would have changed the discourse : but I having pressed him, as a friend, for his private sentiments, he at last told me, as such, that he really thought my intervention and good offices amongst the regents, in behalf of the prince, might alarm his enemies, and animate them to take some step to his disadvantage, at a time when there is a general discontent against his highness, for having opposed the late proposition for a promotion of the officers in the army, and making it absolutely depend upon his becoming general of the foot, in which the province of Gueldre, where he is stadtholder, has given a different opinion. Therefore the greffier seemed to be of opinion, that it would be better to let this matter sleep at present, and expect a more favourable opportunity for pushing the prince's pretensions.

“ However, I will take some proper occasion to talk to the pensionary, and to sound Mr. Opdam on this matter, in a manner that shall at least, I hope, do his highness no harm ; but then I am afraid, if I do not talk in his majesty's name, and in a certain tone, the prince will be made to believe that he is not supported, as he ought to be, by the king's ambassador ; and yet I am confident, as things stand at present here, that even a proposition for making the prince lieutenant-general only, would not pass ; and therefore there is no fear of its being offered, I believe, by way of composition.”

Mr. Walpole to the Queen.

“ Madam,

Hague, Nov. 12, 1737.

“ Since I did myself the honour to write to your majesty last, I have received a letter from the princess royal, of which I take the liberty to send you a copy inclosed. Upon the receipt of it, I immediately consulted my old friend, the greffier Fagel, whose good sense, prudence, and knowledge of the disposition of the States, as well as his affection and zeal for the prince of Orange's service, are unquestionable ; and he told me, in a free but confidential manner, that if I should espouse the prince of Orange's pretensions to the generalat, in the name of the king, and with the warmth proposed by her royal highness, at this time, when the prince's opposition to the promotion of officers as far as lieutenant generals,

als, had put the spirits here into so great a fermentation, I should do the prince no service ; but, perhaps, on the contrary, animate his enemies to cabal, in order to procure a resolution to exclude him for ever from a command fit for him in the army. This way of reasoning has been confirmed to me by others, who are naturally disposed to favour the prince's pretensions, but have been of late dissatisfied with the counsels and conduct he has for some time pursued.

“ The case, about the promotions in the army, stands at present thus : A proposition was made, by the deputies of Overysse, to the States General, for making a general promotion in the army, with a clause, that no promotion of generals should be made for the future, otherwise than according to their rank, without an unanimity of the States. This clause was certainly inserted by the enemies of the prince, with a view of excluding him for ever out of the army. And, indeed, it is so exceptionable and odious, that there was no doubt but it would be rejected by the majority of the provinces, at the same time desirous that a promotion should be made of the officers of the army. But the prince having not only opposed that clause, but the whole promotion ; insisting that the rest of the officers should not be advanced, unless he was made general of the foot ; upon a presumption, I suppose, that the four provinces, which had declared two years ago in favour of his advancement, would have been of the same opinion, found himself extremely mistaken ; for whether his credit and interest is much lessened since that time, or the concern which affected the many friends and relations of such a number of officers, stopt in their preferment on account of his highness, was more prevalent, 'tis certain his opposition on this occasion caused a general discontent in all the provinces, even in those that were before most attached to his service, not excepting Friesland, although they were so complaisant there as to take a resolution agreeable to the sentiments and desire of his highness.

“ The prince, no doubt, flattered himself with the expectations that Guelderland, Overysse, Utrecht, and Groningen, would have taken resolutions agreeable to that of Frise : but as to Guelderland, where the prince's interest and credit was some years since very great, your majesty will see, by the inclosed copy of the letter they wrote to the province of
Frise,

Frise, in answer to one they received from those States on this subject, that however desirous they may be to have his highness advanced to the generalship, they would not make it a condition of the promotion of the other officers in the army. As to Overysse, their States have not met yet on this matter ; but as the proposition, so prejudicial to his highness, was made by their deputies to the States General, 'tis thought that the same deputies will think themselves sufficiently authorised to conclude in favour of the same promotion. Utrecht has referred themselves to a former resolution, which was indeed rather favourable to the prince than otherwise. But as the town of Utrecht is most prevalent in that province, and by no means in the interest of the prince, I am told that the province of Holland can make that town do as they please ; and as to Groningen, that province is so equally divided that they can come to no resolution ; and, consequently, their vote can go for nothing.

“ This being the situation of matters, your majesty sees that the prince stands alone, with one province only avowedly declaring for him ; and, as I have hinted before, most of his own friends in that province would have been glad that his highness would not have insisted upon their coming to the resolution they have taken, much against their real opinions, purely to oblige him ; foreseeing, that it would create a great deal of ill-will towards the prince. It is indeed true, that as long as the province of Frise only stands out, the States cannot come to a resolution, agreeable to the first proposition, because an unanimity is requisite for that purpose : but, as the greffier has observed to me, should I, in the king's name, insist warmly upon the prince's promotion, (though never so just and reasonable in itself,) the enemies of the prince finding so general a coolness and even a dissatisfaction towards the prince, from his behaviour on this occasion, by the advice, 'tis thought, of no one person but Mr. Dunan, may endeavour to carry some very disagreeable and shocking point in opposition to my offices in behalf of his highness.

“ However, in obedience to your majesty's commands, and the earnest solicitations of her royal highness and the prince of Orange, I will endeavour to serve him in all that is in my power ; although I foresee, that my fate will be, that I shall not be able, at this time, and in this affair, to do him any service. And yet her royal and his most serene highness will

will conclude, that it was my want of zeal, and not the nature of the thing, and other circumstances that I don't care to name, that keep the princee from his being advanced according to his dignity and merit."

Soon after the date of this letter, queen Caroline being seized with a mortal complaint, Mr. Walpole was commissioned to impart the melancholy tidings to the princess of Orange, and was instructed to prevent her, in the first moment of her surprise and distraction, from taking a voyage to England: "I write this," says Sir Robert Walpole, "on purpose to desire that you will use all your reasoning, skill and influence to prevent any such attempt. It is said you must assume authority, although you have none. You will inform her of the whole truth, as you shall, in discretion, think it will have a good or bad effect for the present purpose. I am told she is now at Gumberg, where you must go as soon as you receive this. A messenger is sent with this, that you may see this before the post arrives*."

Mr. Walpole executed this commission; and, in two letters to Mr. Trevor, describes his visit to the princess.

"Dear Sir,

Breda, Dec. 1, 1737.

"My wife will give you an account of my motions hither, since I left you yesterday in the evening. I am extremely obliged to you for the extracts of your letters, relating to the great important crisis which keeps all the world in suspense between hopes and fears. God grant the decision may be answerable to our ardent desires!

"The princess royal having received, by the last mail, a full account of the illness and cause of it, with some comfortable news at the conclusion, and there being no fever, and the pulse being good, agreeably to what I had read to her at Antwerp out of my brother Walpole's letter to me by Bill, she is grown tolerably easy, especially since the extracts of your letters correspond with what she has heard from others. I have not yet perceived any token of her having had the least design of going to England; and I have not, as you will easily imagine, mentioned any thing of that nature to her royal highness; but I must be secure about that point before I leave this place, for which I have not yet fixed any time; but shall expect the arrival of Friday's letter first. * * * *

"Dear

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, vol. 3. p. 502.

“ Dear Sir,

Breda, Dec. 3, 1737, at night.

“ Bill, the messenger, brought me your favour of nine o'clock last night, with your postscript dated at midnight, about five this afternoon, while I was at dinner with the prince of Orange. I left the table to read my letters with fear and trembling, and I must own I cannot recover from the alarm they have given me. Having agreed with the prince to apprise him first, that he might break it to the princess in case the news was very bad ; I had scarce perused my letters before her royal highness's constant attention, and as it were prophetic concern, sent to know whether my courier was not come ; and the prince was obliged immediately to go to her to intimate that things were desperate ; I followed, after some interval, and read to her the ostensible extract of your brother's letter, and one more comfortable from Mr. Grill, as well as Mrs. Colledge's to Mrs. Walpole. Mrs. Hines's was in a great measure agreeable to your brother's melancholy account ; but I took care, in reading it, to omit some melancholy expressions, and even lines, particularly what relates to the prayers in the church, and the archbishop's daily attendance on the queen. However, we wanted cold water, and also cordials, to support her spirits ; and after I left her, she has fallen into a flood of tears and loud lamentations, crying out, She must and would go into England to receive the benediction of the queen. The prince of Orange, whom I had apprised of the orders I had received to prevent her by all means from taking the journey, used all his eloquence and influence to divert her from such a thought ; and I believe, at this present writing, she will content herself with sending M. Gravestein thither, so as to go by the mail, or, in case that be gone before his arrival, I am to give an order for another boat, which I shall not refuse to do, because it is gaining so much time ; and I think she will be in a manner tyed down to stay here until she hears from M. Gravestein, and by that time the great and doubtful crisis will be over, I am afraid, in a manner that will occasion general affliction in Great Britain and in Europe than ever happened in any age. But I can no more. However, I am well in body, and so you may assure my wife and Molly ; in all conditions ever yours most affectionately.”

The queen died on the 20th of November, O. S. and, soon after the

news

news of this melancholy event, Mr. Walpole returned to England, and records, in a letter to Mr. Trevor, of December 23, 1737, an instance of the king's extreme sensibility, and of his affliction for her irreparable loss*.

* * * * *

“ The king was so kind as to enquire often after my arrival, in a manner as if he was willing to see me, (for as yet he has seen none but the ministers of State and his own children ;) when I was at the closet-door, he told my brother he could not do it. But I having seen the two older princesses, and waited upon them, at their desire, before eleven o'clock ; while I was with the princess Caroline, word was brought that his majesty was coming to their apartment, (as he usually does as soon as he is drest,) which made me retire. I was immediately called back and left alone with his majesty, whose inexpressible grief burst out into a torrent of tears, as put me, at the same time, into such a situation as to want comfort as much as his majesty, and I had almost like to have retired ; but he made me walk with him, and talked to me all the while amidst the strongest commendations of the poor queen ; giving me an account of his way of living with her, the great use she was to him in all conditions of life, of her behaviour during the time of her illness, and particularly of the character which she gave of my brother Walpole, which his majesty was pleased to enlarge upon in the most confidential manner ; concluding, that the queen did him so much justice as to recommend him, (the king,) his children, and the kingdom, to the care of Sir Robert Walpole, which, though an encomium too great for any subject with respect to his sovereign, his majesty was pleased to dwell upon for some time with great satisfaction ; adding, that although his value and esteem for Sir Robert Walpole was certainly greater on account of the queen's judicious apostrophe of him, yet he knew that he, himself, had made him his chosen minister, as superior and preferable to all his subjects.

“ All this, indeed, is too much to be repeated by me, so nearly related as I am ; and indeed nothing but my particular friendship for you would have drawn it from me. I cannot, however, conclude this, without letting

* The character of queen Caroline, and the circumstances of her death, are related in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 48.

ting you know, that notwithstanding the malicious insinuations that have been scattered about the immense riches left by the queen, her receiver's accounts, now all the bills are brought in, make her in debt 5700l. ; and, by what I hear from undoubted hands concerning her effects, after the balance is paid, she may have died worth about 20,000l. all which she has given to the king by will.

“ Dec. 19, 1737. The States letter on the queen's death was very cordial, and so moving that the lecture of it flung his majesty into a flood of tears. He has not yet seen company ; it was thought he would have taken a resolution to do it after the interment, which was mournful, decent, and orderly ; but the king is still undetermined about it, and cannot bear to have it mentioned to him.”

CHAPTER 20.

1738—1739.

Mr. Walpole supports the Spanish Convention in Parliament—Returns to the Hague—Disgusted with his Situation—Quits his Embassy—Honourable Testimony of the States to his good Conduct.

DURING 1738, Mr. Walpole continued to reside principally at the Hague, and was employed in conducting the negotiations which succeeded the signature of the pacification between the emperor and France. In consequence of the disputes with Spain, and the conclusion of the convention, he attended his duty in parliament, in the stormy session of 1739, and supported the pacific arrangements of his brother. He drew up several interesting memorials on this subject, still extant among his papers, and moved the address for the approbation of the convention, which he defended in an able speech*.

At the close of the session he returned to the Hague, for the last time. He had now been six years ambassador, and though highly respected by the leading men of the republic, yet he was extremely disgusted with his situation, and had long expressed his desire to return, and his resolution never again to accept any foreign employment. His disgust was heightened by the narrow policy of George the Second, who at this great crisis suffered his antipathy to the king of Prussia, and his electoral views, to preponderate against the interests of Great Britain and of Europe.

The principality of East Friesland, which is contiguous to the province of Groningen, was at this period governed by Charles Everard, last sovereign of his line. Being without issue, the succession was liable to be contested by the king of Prussia and George the Second; by the king of Prussia, in virtue of an expectative made by the emperor Leopold in

1694,

* See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 52.

1694, to the house of Brandenburg; by George the Second, in virtue of a family compact between prince Christian Everard and the family of Brunswick, in 1691. The States General were exceedingly alarmed lest it should fall either to the king of Prussia, or to the king as elector of Hanover; and the eventual succession became an object of the most serious negotiation. The simple question was, whether East Friesland should be considered as a male or a feminine fief? If a male fief, it lapsed to the house of Brandenburg, by the grant of the emperor Leopold; if a feminine fief, it might be conferred by the emperor on some prince of the female line: at all events the house of Brunswick seemed to have no just and rightful claim.

In the commencement of 1739, the greffier Fagel, and Vanderheim, who had succeeded Slingelandt* in the office of pensionary, proposed to Mr. Walpole, that the king of England, in conjunction with the States, should endeavour to procure the entail of the principality on some prince of the female branch, with the consent of the reigning sovereign, and the approbation of the emperor, to be guaranteed by the king and the states. Mr. Walpole laid the proposal before the king, at the recommendation of the dutch ministers. But George the Second, anxious to secure the principality for himself, rejected the scheme; and as he could not brook the interference of his english ministers in electoral concerns, expressed great resentment against Mr. Walpole. By this ill-judged policy the king displeased both the king of Prussia and the States, at a time when England was actually engaged in a war with Spain, and threatened with hostilities by France. He did not, however, attain his object; for Frederic the
Second

* M. Slingelandt died in 1736, during the absence of Mr. Walpole; an event which, from their long and tried friendship, afflicted him extremely. He received the account from his friend and secretary, Mr. Trevor, who observes, "However indisposed I may be for writing, through the surprise and affliction I am at present under, I am sensible I should be wholly inexcusable before your excellency, not only as the king's ambassador to the States General, but even as a personal friend of M. Slin-

gelandt, the grand pensionary of Holland, did I not acquaint you, with the utmost expedition, with so important an event, both with respect to the affairs of your excellency's station, and to those of the public in general, as the loss of that able and worthy minister, which happened this morning about five o'clock, so suddenly, that the servant who always attended him at nights, had but just warning enough to call his lady to be a witness of it." Hague, Dec. 1, 1736.

Second occupied East Friesland on the death of the prince, and retained it in opposition to the remonstrances both of the king of England and the States.

The conduct of the king towards Mr. Trevor, his secretary, added to the dissatisfaction of Mr. Walpole.

Since the commencement of his embassy at the Hague, Mr. Robert Trevor*, half-brother of lord Trevor, had served him in the capacity of private secretary; he was likewise secretary to the embassy, and, during his absence, had acted as chargé d'affaires, with great discretion and ability. Mr. Walpole destined him as his successor in the quality of envoy and plenipotentiary, and obtained the promise from his brother and lord Harrington, to whose department the embassy belonged. But the king had conceived a prejudice against Mr. Trevor, and after throwing many difficulties in the way of the appointment, instead of conferring the titles of envoy and plenipotentiary, would only nominate him envoy. Mr. Trevor, offended with this slight, refused to accept the post on that condition.

During this struggle, Sir Robert Walpole and the chancellor condemned Mr. Walpole's extreme eagerness to return, and represented the urgent necessity of his continuance in Holland at this critical juncture; but no solicitations could induce him to remain. In reply to their instances, he expressed his uneasiness at the disappointment of his friend Mr. Trevor; "not only," he says, "on account of my affection for him, who has many good and rare qualities, but for the sake of the public." He adverted, with concern, to the conduct of the king, in regard to continental politics,

* Mr. Robert Trevor, afterwards lord Hampden, was third son of Thomas lord Trevor, by his second wife Anne, daughter of Robert Wilding, esq. and widow of Sir Robert Barnard, bart. of Huntingdonshire. He was born in 1701, and educated in a private school at Bishops Stratford, where he made a considerable proficiency in classical literature, and was removed in the nineteenth year of his age, to Queen's College, in the university of Oxford. Being afterwards a candidate for a fellowship of All

Souls, the votes were equally divided between him and another student, and both parties underwent a strict examination by the archbishop of Canterbury's chaplain, who decided in favour of Mr. Trevor. He was early initiated in diplomatic business, being introduced into the secretary of State's office in 1729, and in 1734 appointed secretary to the embassy at the Hague, where he gained the esteem and full confidence of Mr. Walpole, who promoted him with all his influence.

politics, and complained that “low, partial electoral notions, are able to stop or confound the best conducted project for the public.” “We have,” he adds, “jealousies of one power, aversions to another prince, contempt for this or that state; we have pretensions or desires of our own, that must either be made ingredients in any scheme for the public good, or that scheme must not go on. * * * * *

“In the mean time those that serve abroad have no comfort; they are liked and disliked, not according to their fidelity and diligence, but by humour and fancy; and were I not your brother, you would soon hear, nay perhaps you do hear, of me, with my friend Trevor, in the list of those who are of no consequence but to receive their pay, which is grudged them. And therefore I must freely own to you, that dangers and difficulties from abroad do not discourage me; but the not seeing the least likelihood of right measures being pursued at home, to obviate or withstand them, although such measures might be found out, that is what disheartens me. * * * * *

“While I am employed, I will serve with the utmost diligence; but I see nothing but disgrace and disappointments, and, as the world ever judges by events, and not by conduct, I am sensible of what I am to apprehend from my continuance here. However, I should be glad to know how long this servitude is to endure, that I may take my measures accordingly*?”

Several of the other letters which passed between Mr. Walpole and his brother, as well as those of Mr. Trevor to Mr. Walpole, are published in the Correspondence annexed to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole†. But some letters to Mr. Trevor, preserved in the Hampden Papers, which were not given in that publication, will still further display his esteem for Mr. Trevor, and the exertions which he employed in his favour.

“Dear Trevor,

Hague, Sept. 1, 1739.

“Your letter of the 14th‡, and one I received from my brother at the same time, on your account, gave me the greatest affliction, for several reasons, that are too many, and which would only serve to increase the melancholy

* Correspondence to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. 3, p. 535, 538.

† Vol. 3.

‡ See this and the following letters here alluded to in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. 3, p. 532, 539.

choly scene between us, to expatiate upon. I must only desire you to be persuaded, that I have used my utmost instances and credit with my brother, and that he has exerted, in the best and strongest manner he could, his with the king, to obtain what you desire, and what you so much deserve. And, lest any impression, which is too usual in cases of disappointment, should catch hold of you, to make you imagine (though you will forbear saying it) the contrary, I send you inclosed the letter I received from my brother on this occasion, but in the greatest confidence, desiring you will return it to me with that which accompanies it from the lord Chancellor to Sir Robert Walpole on my subject, that you may see the whole state of this affair, and make your proper and most prudent reflections with respect to your own interest, and take your measures accordingly."

"Hague, Sept. 4, 1739. I have been this day favoured with yours of the 20th and 21st*, and you will see by what I wrote to you already, that there is nothing I believe that can be imagined to shew that you deserve, and his majesty's service requires, your coming hither, upon the-foot you desire, that I have not represented to my brother; and I am fully persuaded that my brother has represented, with all his skill and credit, the same things to the king; and therefore I cannot agree with you, (pray don't suspect my friendship, for indeed I don't deserve such a suspicion,) that you should persevere in your hopes that *our royal master may, upon reflection and proper representations of the nature of things, and of his service at the Hague, be inclined to, &c.* The conclusion of which is in your mind, that Sir Robert Walpole has not convinced you of his having done his best for your service; which reflection, believe me, between you and me, and I can assure you it goes no farther, my brother does not deserve.

"Pray now, dear Trevor, what does lord Harrington say to you on this subject? Does he, who has often seen his majesty, and knows his temper, imagine there is the least probability or possibility of my brother's being able to compass this point? I protest I don't know the particular things which the king says, when he gives his refusal; but perhaps if we did know, it would * * * *† you and me more than the refusal itself. But,
in

* See Memoirs, vol. 3, p. 540, 541.

† Illegible, probably convince.

in short, that nothing may be concealed from you, I send you, and to you alone, the letter I have received on this disagreeable subject, this day, from my brother. That part which relates to myself, would have made any one, that is not so intimate as I am with you, have forbore making such a communication ; but as I can assure you that I shall be governed by no concern for myself, because I don't care how soon I retire, not only from hence, but from all business, so you will see that my brother's sincere thoughts are, that my pressing to come home, and his pressing the king to send you in my place, on the foot we all desire, will have no other effect than to provoke his majesty to call for the nomination of another minister for the Hague ; and although our friends may be so partial to us, yet his majesty, I am afraid, will not, as to think that we are the only persons that can serve him at this place. The apprehension of a contingency, against which you apprehend your philosophy would be a proof, strikes and affects me very much, though it did not occur until you mentioned it ; especially considering that a person, who is, I am afraid, more in his majesty's favour (for princes take fancies and humours for persons) than either you or I, will soon return from his employment, where he had 8l. a day. But I have troubled you and myself too long upon a most disagreeable subject. Let not, dear Trevor, your personal desires and disappointment alter your personal friendship and regard for those that have it not in their power to prevent this disappointment."

" Hague, Sept. 11, 1739. I have received your favour of the 28th *, returning me the papers I sent you, and I am glad to find you are fully convinced of my brother's cordiality and seriousness in endeavouring to procure for you what you desire, and so well deserve. I must own freely to you, that my suspicion of your not being perfectly easy in that respect, made me not venture, for fear of incurring something of the same nature, to write to you directly myself, my opinion as to what you should determine to do, upon the supposition that his majesty was absolutely determined not to allow you any more than 5l. per diem, and that the 3l. was absolutely desperate. For I know how unwilling every body is to believe any thing impracticable which they have at heart, and is reasonable too ; and I don't doubt but when you state your case to all your friends
and

* Memoirs, &c. vol. 3, p. 546.

and relations, they will entirely approve the reasonableness of your demand, and that you should not accept the post there at less than 8*l.* per diem. But have you stated to them the impossibility of obtaining from his majesty any more at present than 5*l.* and the consequence of another being named in your room, and your being put out of your rank of business and preferment, and of his majesty being disobliged, and that your future hopes and expectations must depend upon some contingency at home, in consequence of your merit and the interest of your friends and relations? all which are certainly very great, and I think you can yield to nobody in these respects.

“But don’t be uneasy at what I am going to say. There are a great many others who have, or pretend to have merit, have great friends and relations, have served a considerable while in parliament, have solicited for vacancies, have been disappointed, have hopes and promises upon new vacancies, of such places as you would desire and accept, which are not near so numerous as there are competitors. Joined with these considerations, the humour and predilection of our master, when various pretenders are named for a place; I say, dear Trevor, I am afraid these things have not been stated by you to your friends and relations; nay, perhaps they have not occurred to you, and indeed they cannot occur to you in so strong a light as I see them; because you cannot have had that opportunity of seeing them in that light, although my brother has hinted something of that nature tenderly to you, and tenderly only for fear of disobliging, and being thought to give a preference to others.

“After having said all this, you may equally depend upon my friendship at home as well as abroad, though you must not depend upon the success of it: I am, after having said this, by no means averse to my brother’s making another trial with the king in your behalf; but I hope that trial will be soon, and in consequence your determination too; for I find we shall be at cross purposes: you defer making your option until my return home is fixt, I defer sending for the yacht until I hear you have made your option, and I think it is absolutely necessary, both for your sake as well as mine, that you should be here some time before I leave this place, if you intend to be here at all. I shall therefore write by this post that the yacht may be sent for me; for as the States of Hol-
land

land will, I hope and believe, come to some resolution upon the ten men of war during this meeting, and that will, I am afraid, be taken *ad referendum* by the provinces ; or if Holland should put it off again, it will be so long before they resume it, that I don't see that there will be any occasion for my staying after the separation of the present assembly of Holland. * * *

“ On reflection, I shall not write till next post for the yacht ; your friend Charles will go over with the mail, and if he will be free enough, he will tell you what your friends (I mean nobody but his brother and the greffier, for I have acquainted nobody else, besides Milling, with your difficult situation,) think you should do, if you are reduced to the extremity I apprehend. Remember, once upon a birth-day, a great string of coaches following one another close to get to St. James's, a person in a very fine equipage and clothes went out of the rank, because he was afraid he should not get there so soon as he desired, and, according to his dress, deserved. But being once out of the rank, other coaches proceeded in his place, and he did not get to court until the drawing-room was over.”

Mr. Walpole having at length persuaded Mr. Trevor to accept the post of envoy, and by unceasing importunities obtained his own recal ; “ You will see,” writes lord Harrington to him, in a private and particular letter, dated September 11, 1739, “ by my dispatch to you of this day, that the king has complied with your request of returning to England, whenever you shall think it may be done without prejudice to his majesty's service ; and you will also find, in the same letter, that Mr. Trevor is appointed to succeed you, but as envoy extraordinary only. I can assure you, with the greatest sincerity, that every thing possible has been tried, both by his friends and yours, to procure for him, what you and he, and indeed I may say all of us, most heartily desired ; but found it absolutely impossible. Nor had we much less difficulty to prevail upon Mr. Trevor to accept of all that was possible to obtain of the king for him for the present. But as he has now submitted himself to the king's pleasure, I can't but hope that a little time will procure for him what he so much desires. Mr. Weston will have acquainted you that the project of an answer to the spanish manifesto, which you sent hither, has been extremely approved ;

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and

and that orders have been given for printing it in the manner you desired."

In consequence of this permission, Mr. Walpole took leave on the 13th of October 1739, and quitted the Hague with much joy to himself, but to the great regret of the States, which they expressed in their reply to the king's letters of recal, in a manner highly honourable to their own feelings and his character :

" We have so perfect a confidence in the probity of the said ambassador extraordinary, whose person and ministry here have been most agreeable to us, that we willingly refer ourselves to the report he shall make to your majesty on this head. We regret his leaving us, because we looked upon it as an advantage to have such a minister residing with us, endowed with extraordinary talents, a vast capacity, and uncommon prudence, confirmed by long experience, of which he has given proofs in every thing that he has had to treat here, as well as of his noble zeal for your majesty's service, and his laudable earnestness to cultivate and cement the happy union between your majesty and our republic, and the good understanding between the two nations; two points which are, and ever will be, the object of our wishes and desires."

CHAPTER 21.

1739—1740.

Mr. Walpole returns to England—Supports the Convention with Spain—Proposes an Alliance with Prussia—Origin and Progress of the Antipathy between the Houses of Brunswick and Brandenburg—Death of Frederick William—Plan of a Grand Alliance.

ON his return to England, Mr. Walpole found the people in a state of ferment and agitation, wild with schemes of vengeance for the spanish depredations, and sharing in imagination the treasures of Peru and Mexico*. He was not, however, hurried away with these dreams of vengeance and conquest; he had uniformly promoted the pacific system of his brother, and united with him in opposing the precipitate declaration of war.

“About this time,” to use the words which conclude his Apology, “the depredations of the Spaniards on the british commerce in the West Indies, encouraged by the turbulent spirit of the queen of Spain, and out of resentment for the great illegal trade, carried on, contrary to treaty, by the English, with the spanish-american coast and ports, had given a handle to the disaffected and discontented party, increased by the accession of those in parliament who belonged to the court of the late prince of Wales, to raise a great ferment in the nation, to occasion warm debates in parliament, and strong resolutions and addresses to the crown, against such violent proceedings; with an advice to his majesty to try once more amicable measures to obtain reparations, and to prevent the like injuries

* In a confidential letter to Mr. Trevor, dated March 16, 1739, he thus describes the agitated state of the public mind: “I am afraid that the words of the address, with regard to searching, are already so strong, for the sake of popularity, as to make, between you and

me, a war with Spain inevitable. But that is not the question; ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and all the complicated vices that tend to render the minds of men uneasy, are got out of Pandora’s box, and fill all places and all hearts in the nation.”

injuries for the future. In consequence of which, a convention was negotiated and concluded with Spain, by which that king acknowledged our grievances, agreed to pay in three months a certain sum in satisfaction, and to discuss and determine in five months, by plenipotentiaries on both sides, the respective complaints, in order to put a final end to all differences between the two nations. This convention, after a long and solemn debate, was approved by parliament; but most of the members of his majesty's council, excepting Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, were so alarmed, and betrayed such apprehensions of the popular discontent and cries, that their catholic majesties, being informed of it by their minister in England, and convinced that these clamours would force his majesty and his ministry into war with them, refused to make the payment of the money stipulated for satisfaction, at the stated time; and consequently a rupture ensued between the two nations, in which France privately supported the Spaniards, while neither the Emperor nor the States seemed disposed to take any part."

From this period Mr. Walpole remained in England; but held no ostensible place under government. He did not, however, intermit his political labours; but continued the same attention to public business, and supplied the cabinet with numerous papers, deductions, and memorials, relative to the conduct of foreign affairs, during that critical period which immediately preceded and followed the death of the emperor Charles the Sixth.

His sagacity led him to foresee that the war with Spain must occasion a rupture with France, and appreciate the necessity of forming some plan of united measures to counteract the preponderance which that power had always acquired on the continent. He had no reliance on the co-operation of the emperor, whose rash and impolitic schemes had reduced his country to a state of weakness and degradation*. Charles had no sooner concluded a pacification with France, Spain, and Sardinia, than, in alliance with Russia, he attacked the Turks, with the sanguine

* In one of his letters to Mr. Trevor, he says, "We find they (the court of Vienna) begin to open their eyes; it is better they should do it themselves, than we should pretend to lift up

their eye-lids for them; for we can't make them see if they have a mind to be blind: and if that be the case, things are well enough." January 25, 1738—9.

guine hopes of procuring an indemnification on the side of Hungary for his losses in Italy. But the disasters of a single campaign compelled him to desert his ally, and purchase a dishonourable peace, under the dictates and mediation of France, by the cession of Servia and the important town of Belgrade. His finances were exhausted, and his armies reduced and dispirited.

Mr. Walpole well knew, from long experience, that the States would not take an active part in opposition to France, unless the barrier towns were put in a state of defence, and unless they were secure of being supported by an army, not depending on the uncertain contingents of the austrian levies, but effective in the field. On considering the situation of the european powers, none appeared capable of promptly contributing this support, but the king of Prussia, who had an effective army of 80,000 men, and possessed a considerable treasure in reserve. Both Mr. Walpole and his brother had long urged the policy of forming an alliance with Prussia; but their proposals met with insuperable difficulties, from the inveterate antipathy between the houses of Brunswick and Brandenburg, which originated in the reigns of Frederick William and George the First.

Frederick William was nearly connected in blood and marriage with George the First; he was son of his sister Sophia Charlotte, and had espoused his daughter Dorothy. On the death of queen Anne, he offered to support the right of his father-in-law to the british throne with all his forces, and for many years continued to treat him with marks of high respect. They shared together the spoils of Sweden in 1716, and co-operated in many schemes of german politics; the bands of amity were drawn closer by the accession of Frederick William to the treaty of Hanover; and a double marriage was negotiated between the prince of Wales and a prussian princess, and the prince-royal of Prussia, afterwards Frederick the Second, and one of the english princesses.

But this good understanding was interrupted by the capricious and brutal behaviour of Frederick William to his queen and children, and by his defection from the alliance of Hanover. Hence arose the suspension of the marriage contracts, and the coolness between the two monarchs continued till the death of George the First.

George the Second brought to the throne, in addition to political reasons,

sons, a personal antipathy to his brother-in-law. Having been associates during their youth, their discordant tempers had inspired them with mutual contempt, and their aversion was heightened by a disagreement relative to the will of George the First. The british monarch, in allusion to the minute attention of Frederick William, to his military arrangements, and his uncourtly manners, called him "My brother the corporal;" while Frederick, retaliating on the punctilious etiquette of George the Second, styled him "My cousin the dancing-master." The negotiation for the double marriage between the two sovereigns contributed to increase their irritability; and Frederick William frequently declared, in his paroxysms of passion, "that he had already too much of the Brunswick blood in his family, and should think himself culpable if he admitted more*." His anger was also roused by suspicions that the attempt of the prince-royal to escape from his dominions was made at the suggestion of the english court; but his fury was inflamed to the highest degree, by the treatment of his recruiting parties in Hanover, and the arrest of his agents for kidnapping men from England.

Agents from Frederick William having enticed several tall men to enlist in the prussian service, their relations and friends made repeated complaints to government; and two of his german emissaries were arrested for attempting, by large offers, to enlist a corporal of the guards. Mr. Walpole transmitted to Mr. Guy Dickens, the british envoy at Berlin, the act of parliament by which the offence was made capital; desiring him to lay it before the prussian ministers, and represent the necessity of discontinuing so illegal a practice. As baron Borck, the prussian minister, was proved to be the principal manager and most active director of such enrolments, representations were made for his recal; but Frederick William, declaring that he would not be prescribed to by England, restored him to his mission: he also threatened, that, should his envoy be contemptuously received, the english minister at Berlin should be treated in the same manner; and if Borck was desired to withdraw from England, he would instantly order Guy Dickëns to quit the prussian dominions. He also gave him an additional pension of 1000 crowns, which, as the prussian ministers insinuated, was granted because the
English

* Polnitz, Histoire des quatre derniers Souverains de la Maison de Brandebourg, tom. 2, p 208.

English had complained against him. George the Second, incensed at these insults, sent orders from Hanover, not to receive Borck as the prussian envoy.

It was now apprehended that Frederick William would carry his threats into execution, by instantly dismissing the english envoy; and Mr. Guy Dickens entertained the same suspicions, on being unexpectedly summoned to a conference with the prussian ministers of state. To his astonishment, however, no notice was taken of Borck; but two objects of complaint were brought forward: the first related to the arrest of the prussian agents in England; and "the second point," to use the words of Mr. Guy Dickens, "was a personal quarrel to me, about a dog belonging to one of my neighbours, which some of my servants stole away, not long since, because he had been very troublesome to the whole family. This affair was treated in a very serious manner, and as if they had a mind to make me believe that the stealing away of a prussian dog was a matter of much greater consequence than the stealing away several score of our master's subjects. But this most important dispute was at last settled; the ministers promising me that my neighbour should be no more troublesome to me, and I agreeing to make him a few apologies for the too warm zeal my servants had shewn for my repose and their own. So that if I am to be served with a *consilium abeundi*, or any other out-of-the-way compliment, it will entirely turn upon the answer I shall receive from England, upon the affair of the prussian agent*."

The dispute relating to Borck and the agent occasioned "a paper war," as Guy Dickens calls it, between lord Harrington and the prussian ministers; and Frederick William became calm or warm as the situation of Europe rendered him of greater or less consequence.

This unfortunate misunderstanding, between two sovereigns of the same family, and of the same religion, had given great advantage to the french interest in Germany, and crippled the efforts of the house of Austria. Sir Robert Walpole was the only minister who had ventured to represent the policy of a reconciliation with the king of Prussia, and endeavoured to overcome the repugnance of George the Second. His efforts were

* Mr. Guy Dickens to Mr. Tilson, Berlin, March 2, 1787.

were ineffectual ; but as the health of the prussian monarch declined, he looked forward to the accession of Frederick the Second, with hopes of effecting a reconciliation between the two houses. With this view Mr. Walpole, in the beginning of 1740, drew up some thoughts on the utility of an alliance with Prussia, occasioned by the approaching death of the king.

Frederick William died on the 31st of May 1740, and was succeeded by his son Frederick the Second. This illustrious prince was in the 28th year of his age when he ascended the throne, and aspired to rival Cæsar, both with the pen and the sword. An army of 80,000 the best disciplined troops in Europe, and a considerable treasure, rendered him the arbiter of Germany, and placed in his hand the power of pacifying or convulsing nations. He was instantly and assiduously courted by the principal states of Europe ; Berlin became the centre of multifarious negotiations, and the wily monarch complacently listened to the respective overtures, without adopting a decisive line of conduct. He temporised with more prudence and discretion than was expected from a young and spirited sovereign ; until a scene of action should present itself worthy of employing those talents for the cabinet and the field, with which nature had endowed him, and which education and reflection had matured.

A favourable opportunity now occurred to the british cabinet for renewing the antient and natural connection between sovereigns so nearly related by blood, which might be rendered highly advantageous to both parties. Accordingly, soon after the arrival of George the Second at Hanover, a negotiation for a new defensive alliance between England and Prussia was opened, with reciprocal professions and promises, which seemed to ensure success. But, in the course of this negotiation, the exorbitant claims of Prussia on one side, and the petty interests of Hanover on the other, obstructed its progress, and delayed the conclusion. Neither party was actuated by serious intentions, and both were desirous rather to impose upon each other, than to form a solid and well-grounded alliance. On both sides extreme jealousy prevailed, and both were anxious to discover the inclinations of each other, before they explained their own. No precise stipulations were brought forwards ;

forwards ; only general insinuations made ; and those particular interests which each sovereign had at heart were studiously concealed from view.

The minister was merely consulted for the sake of form ; and the whole business being conducted by the king, or by lord Harrington under his direction, Mr. Walpole well observes, in a letter to his brother ; “ a negotiation carried on in so loose and general a way, by bounding the ball from minister to minister at Hanover, and from Hanover to England, without learning in a confidential manner the sentiments of both kings, on the points they have each at heart, the negotiation would be merely an amusement, and that amusement would produce jealousy, and jealousy a coolness, which would end in the usual family aversion, and constant opposition, in their respective interests, both as kings and electors ; for which the emperor, according to his perverse politics, would not *be sorry*, and of which the French would not fail to make a solid advantage, and would find means to gain the prussian court, which means were not difficult to foresee*.”

Notwithstanding, however, these unfavourable appearances, and the impolitic behaviour of George the Second, Mr. Walpole did not relinquish all hopes of success. He even formed a plan of a confederacy, to unite Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Saxony, with England and Holland, in one grand defensive league, as a counter-balance to the power and efforts of the house of Bourbon, should France, as he expected, come forwards to the assistance of Spain. The plan, being submitted to Sir Robert Walpole and the duke of Newcastle, was highly approved by both† ; and Mr. Trevor spoke the language of the whole diplomatic corps, when he observed, in a letter to Mr. Walpole, dated July 12, 1740, “ I am ready to subscribe with both my hands to all your notions of affairs at Berlin, and think, till that essential link is clenched, all our northern affairs will be an arrant cobweb.”

Meanwhile the court of Petersburgh was sounded ; and the empress Anne, the implacable enemy of France, appeared inclined to co-operate. At the same time, secret application was made to the court of Vienna, and
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* Mr. Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, August 18, 1740.

† The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, Oct. 9, 1744.

the emperor, who was provoked with the duplicity, and alarmed at the aspiring views of France, would renew his antient connection with the maritime powers. In conformity with this plan, instructions were forwarded to Mr. Robinson at Vienna, and directions framed for the respective ministers abroad ; when the deaths of Charles the Sixth, and of the Czarina, deranged the measures of the cabinet, and gave a new aspect to the system of european politics.

CHAPTER 22.

1740.

Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth—Accession of Maria Theresa—Motion in Parliament for the Augmentation of Troops—Speech of Mr. Walpole—Invasion of Silesia by Frederick the Second—Attempts of the British Cabinet to reconcile Austria and Prussia—Mr. Walpole's Letter to Mr. Robinson on the Conduct of the Austrian Court—Combination against Maria Theresa—Convention of Neutrality with Prussia—Mr. Walpole appointed Teller of the Exchequer.

THE death of the emperor Charles the Sixth, on the 20th of October 1740, totally altered the system of affairs in Europe. The great object of his policy, during his whole reign, had been to establish the pragmatic sanction, by the solemn guaranty of the european powers; and he succeeded with all, excepting the elector of Bavaria, who had claims on the succession, in consequence of his descent from the imperial family. In virtue of this act, his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who had espoused Francis of Lorraine, great duke of Tuscany, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and succeeded to all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.

The indivisible succession of these dominions, as a counterpoise to the growing power of the house of Bourbon, was an object of the highest importance to Great Britain; and it was evident that different claimants would appear, and that some would be supported by France, notwithstanding her pacific professions. In this situation of affairs, it became a matter of necessity as well as policy for Great Britain to augment her forces; the standing army was accordingly increased to 51,515 effective men, exclusive of Ireland. But this augmentation was censured with

great acrimony, and an address against the measure moved in the house of lords, which was negatived only by 67 against 49*.

The question was agitated in the house of commons with equal acrimony ; but no speech on either side appears in the debates, excepting that of lord Gage, which however is sufficient to shew the temper of the times, when this necessary measure for the defence of the country, was reprobated as an attempt to enslave the people. “ I must own,” he said, “ I can see but one reason for raising, at this present juncture, this additional number of troops, and that is, to strengthen the hands of the minister against the next elections, by giving him the power of disposing of commissions to the sons, brothiers, nephews, cousins, and friends of such as have interest in boroughs ; into some of which, perhaps, troops may be sent to procure the free election of their members, in imitation of the late czarina sending her troops into Poland to secure the free election of a king†.”

Mr. Walpole took an active share in this debate. After stating the obligations of England to support the indivisibility of the austrian succession, as well in consequence of the barrier treaty, and the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, as from the policy of preserving such a bulwark against the preponderant power of France, he observed ; “ The emperor is since dead ; his dominions, pursuant to the pragmatic sanction, are devolved upon his eldest daughter, who has, in consequence, the titles of queen of Hungary and Bohemia. She has indeed at present no disturbance in her possession of the whole succession ; the *casus fœderis* for our assistance does not exist, but nobody knows how soon it may exist. France has declared, in general terms, that she will stand by her engagements ; but the elector of Bavaria, ever devoted to the will of France, has laid a claim to all the dominions of that house ; and although his first pretended title to that succession has been proved groundless, he still continues to insist upon his pretensions for other reasons ; and not only he, but the electors Palatin and Cologne, have refused to recognise the arch-duchess, and consequently there is a foundation laid for disturbance ; for it is hardly possible to imagine, that the elector of Bavaria would persevere in his claims, if he did not flatter himself with the hopes
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* Tindal, vol. 20, p. 437.

† Chandler's Debates, vol. 11, p. 388.

of some greater support than his two relations, the electors, in opposition to all the rest of the germanic body. I heartily wish that he may be disappointed; but surely, from the gloomy appearances of a war in those parts, common prudence requires his majesty to have in readiness, upon a sudden emergency, a body of troops to answer his engagements. By the treaty of succession and barrier, his quota is 10,000 men; by that for guarantying the pragmatic sanction, 8000 foot and 4000 horse. The king has already 6000 Danes, and 6000 Hessians; but should the war break out on the continent, upon so dangerous a principle as that of dividing the austrian dominions, that number would by no means be sufficient to answer the quota which his majesty would be obliged to furnish."

He then urged the imprudence of relying on the pacific declarations of France, that she would not disturb the tranquillity of Germany, when she had already dispatched two fleets to thwart our operations in the West Indies, which would probably occasion a war in Europe, and might lead to the invasion of this country. "France," he said, "has already experienced the danger and risk of executing her views on the side of Flanders; but an immediate attempt upon these dominions, has never, or indeed but faintly been tried; and our enemy will measure the prospect of their success, by the condition we are in to resist them. In the last great wars, the numbers of our british forces were considerable, and the greatest part of them employed abroad, because the efforts of our enemies were made in foreign parts. We had not then in Great Britain above 9000 men, and the French nothing but their militia upon their own coasts. At the same time our fleets, manned with 40 or 50,000 men, were within our sight and call. Besides the cruisers and convoys to protect our trade in the West Indies, we never before had a considerable squadron there; at present the royal navy may be said to be employed in America, a thing unknown till now. Does not, therefore, the nature of this war, (should a neighbouring power come to an open rupture with us,) require a disposition of our forces different from former wars, when the whole scene of action was confined to the operations by land, and our fleet might be employed in defending our coast?"

He then adverted to the facility with which France could collect a
number

number of men and ships, and transport them to England, before we could draw together a sufficient marine to oppose their attempts, particularly if supported by Spain, who had at the beginning of the war assembled 7000 men on the coast of Galicia, for an expedition against Great Britain. "But supposing," he concluded, "we could flatter ourselves that a rupture might be chiefly confined to operations in the West Indies, will not those regiments and seamen now proposed be absolutely necessary in all events? It must be several months before they be raised: in the mean time those already sent to the West Indies must, by the course of things and the climate, be extremely diminished and want to be recruited; and can it be done any other way than by employing these troops, or making draughts from others for those services? So that without an augmentation our present undertaking must be immediately stopt, or this country be exposed to the most imminent danger. Indeed, all things considered, with regard to the state of affairs in Europe, and more particularly with regard to the situation of this country as to the war in which we are already engaged, as well as that which seems to threaten us from a more formidable power, common prudence would rather call upon us for a greater augmentation than this now proposed, and that on account of the defence and security of this government, which ought to be our first and principal care. Because, although foreign troops may be had cheaper than these, and would be more eligible, if the present motions and views of others made it most likely that the troubles would begin abroad; yet surely when what we chiefly apprehend at this time is what immediately regards the welfare of this country, our own national troops are most proper to defend ourselves."

Soon after the decision of this question, the apprehensions of the minister were justified; the exhausted condition of the austrian finances, and the reduced state of the army, together with the youth and inexperience of Maria Theresa, tempted numerous pretenders to claim the austrian succession. Besides the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, the kings of Spain and Sardinia revived obsolete pretensions, and France was preparing to interfere in the contest. While these complicated interests occupied the attention of Europe, the king of Prussia over-ran Silesia with a powerful army,

army, and revived some antiquated claims of his family on the lordships of Lignitz, Brieg, Wolau, and Jaegendorf.

He affected, however, to preserve the appearance of moderation, and offered, on the cession of those districts, to pay 2,000,000 florins, to renew his guaranty of the austrian territories, to conclude an alliance with Austria, Russia, and the maritime powers, and to assist in securing the imperial crown for the great duke of Tuscany. These offers were indignantly rejected by Maria Theresa, and vast preparations for resistance were made through all parts of her hereditary dominions. The news of this unprovoked aggression excited general indignation in England; the selfish and imperious conduct of the court of Vienna was instantly forgotten, and nothing was remembered but the wrongs of a young, beautiful, and unoffending princess.

The situation of England was highly alarming. In the midst of an unsuccessful war with Spain, on the eve of a war with France, disunited from Prussia and the Protestant princes of the empire, without prospect of assistance from the Dutch or the northern powers, and loaded with the support of a sinking ally, who, in the lowest state of weakness and degradation, retained the haughtiness and obstinacy of past grandeur, the minister deeply felt the difficulties with which he was surrounded: he acknowledged the justice and policy of preventing the dismemberment of the austrian dominions; but was aware that England and Austria alone could not resist the combination of the principal european powers. He therefore saw the necessity of an immediate accommodation between Austria and Prussia, and urged the court of Vienna to accede to the demands of Frederick. But he was, at the same time, driven by the impulse of the nation, to propose a grant of 300,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary.

At this crisis Mr. Walpole forwarded the views of his brother, and in a letter to the duke of Cumberland, records an anecdote which proves that the obstinacy of Maria Theresa was occasioned by the arts of opposition, and the ill-judged enthusiasm of the british nation. “At the request of lord Orford, a person (alluding to himself) having represented to count Ostein, the austrian minister in London, the great advantages or fatal consequences of agreeing or disagreeing with Prussia, that minister promised

mised to lay what was urged before his court in favour of the propositions of Prussia. At the same time the parliament had voted 300,000*l.* for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the queen of Hungary; and a certain great man*, then in opposition, told count Ostein, that the subsidy did not proceed from the good disposition of the ministry, but was extorted by the general voice of the parliament and people. The austrian minister accordingly changed his sentiments and language, and encouraged his court not to agree with Prussia; because England would spend the last drop of their blood, and the last penny of money, in support of the queen of Hungary. The result was, that she obstinately rejected the alliance with Prussia, who entered into the measures of France."

During these transactions, Mr. Sandys made his celebrated motion for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole; and, in the debate, the internal state of the country was represented as desperate, and the unfortunate aspect of foreign affairs solely attributed to his sinister influence. The minister defended himself with unusual ability, and the question was negatived by a triumphant majority. The parliament was soon afterwards dissolved; the king repaired to Hanover, in opposition to the remonstrances of Sir Robert Walpole†, and the whole kingdom was agitated with the struggles of the contending parties for the new elections. Mr. Walpole was chosen without opposition for the city of Norwich, and renewed his efforts to promote the accommodation between Austria and Prussia, which the loss of the battle of Molwitz, and the powerful combination forming under the auspices of France, rendered more necessary than ever. But numerous difficulties arose from the impolitic and temporising conduct of the austrian cabinet, who, at one time deceived by the pacific professions of France, refused to purchase the alliance of Prussia, even by the smallest cession; and at another, alarmed by the threatened combination, offered terms inadequate to the demands of the prussian monarch. Thus alternately swayed by hope and fear, the court of
Vienna

* Lord Carteret.

† It appears from Mr. Walpole's letters to Mr. Trevor, that the importunities of Sir Robert Walpole had extorted the reluctant

consent of the king to remain in England, in 1739; and that his unavailing attempts to prevent his majesty's departure, in this still more critical period, considerably affected his health.

Vienna acted neither with vigour nor moderation. At this period a letter from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Robinson, will display their delusive hopes and perverse conduct, and the opinion which, from long experience, he entertained of the austrian cabinet.

“ Dear Sir,

May 25, (June 5,) 1741.

“ Although you will receive and strictly follow such orders and informations for your conduct as are sent you from time to time by those to whose province it belongs; yet, perhaps, you will not be sorry to know the sentiments of an old friend and fellow-labourer, at this critical and important conjuncture, especially with respect to the behaviour of the court where you are employed, and you will, for your amusement only, find them contained in the enclosed papers, A and B, and this letter.

“ The purport of the first, in answer to the note delivered to you the beginning of last month, upon his majesty’s recommending to the queen of Hungary an accommodation with the king of Prussia, you will have received from the office, with some corroborating motives, added by lord Harrington, to enforce that recommendation; but the detail of the respective strength and forces for and against the pragmatic sanction, according to the measures to be pursued, being omitted, I thought that part too would not be disagreeable to you. I cannot forbear observing, on this occasion, that the way of reasoning by Mr. B———n*, upon the amicable and confidential communication of his majesty’s intelligence, relating to facts upon which the king grounds his instances for an accommodation with Berlin, as if they had no other foundation but an artful imposition and amusement on the part of France to lead us into wrong notions and measures, astonished every body here, and made them carry their reflections relating to that gentleman to a degree not at all to his honour, nor for the advantage of his court: and indeed the treating the counsels of friends, built upon such solid reasons, with so much indifference and contempt, and with such an air of knowledge and understanding, is the strongest evidence of a very bad, or a very weak mind; or proceeds from a persuasion, that those with whom they treat are destitute
of

* Bartenstein, the austrian referendary, who was employed to draw up the memorials and papers, and, though not of the cabinet, had con-

siderable influence in the conduct of foreign affairs.

of common sense, or so mean and inconsiderable as not to deserve the least regard and attention.

“These are the notions that prevailed here upon considering the paper delivered to you the beginning of April; and you will easily believe that the short, decisive, and peremptory memorial* put into your hands the beginning of this month will hardly meet with more favourable interpretations. The renewal of his majesty’s instances, founded upon undoubted facts, which every day arise and confirm his former intelligence, is treated with the greatest slight and contempt; and, under colour of expressing a grateful sense of his majesty’s and the parliament’s zeal for the service of the house of Austria, they make the most forced and mistaken interpretations of those proceedings, as if calculated to prevent an accommodation with Prussia. But I shall not enlarge on this subject, because you will find my sentiments fully expressed in the paper B, for your own information only, because you will govern yourself by the orders you will receive from Hanover on this extraordinary performance, which is certainly of a piece with Mr. B————n’s probable evidence of the cardinal’s having no design to infringe the pragmatic sanction, because he had said, that France shall take no measures *but what are necessary for securing herself*, and will not enter into a war, unless forced into it. This new guaranty of the pacific intentions of that power would make me smile, had it not so mischievous an effect upon the conduct of your court, whose bigotry, pride and presumption, as if all mankind were made to be subservient to their views, I find, cannot be altered with any alteration of condition or circumstances.

“That ungrateful and ungenerous principle, as if the maritime powers must save the house of Austria for their own sakes, still prevails; and therefore that court may act, insist, refuse, or comply, as their great and superior station and understanding shall dictate, without regard to the sentiments of their allies, who must follow, whether they are, or are not, willing and able. They have already had some reason to believe the contrary; and if they think the nation is so determined to support them as not to have the least concern for their own security, and that the blood and treasure of England must be spent in favour of the august house, preferably

* A refusal to comply with the king of Prussia’s demand of Lower Silesia, including the town of Breslaw.

ably to the support and the preservation of their own rights and privileges, both of Europe and America, and that every thing must be abandoned for the sake of the common cause of the pragmatic sanction, they will certainly be mistaken; especially when it will appear evident to all the world, that the queen of Hungary may save her succession by an accommodation with the king of Prussia, and that it is impossible for the maritime powers, were they ever so willing, to supply the want of the king of Prussia's assistance, and much less to balance the weight of his power in the scale against her.

“ Will Mr. B———’s fulsome compliments to the extraordinary zeal of the british nation, or pompous assurance of a readiness in the States to follow so generous an example, increase 300,000*l.* to a million, and make 10,000 men 30,000? Will the flourish of his pen conjure up new forces? Is it not evident that the great load of debts which lay upon England and Holland will not suffer them to make the same efforts as they did in former wars; and that there wants an additional power, which, by his own strength and expence, may supply the deficiency of what the maritime powers could do, and did formerly? This power cannot be found any where but in the king of Prussia, and without him it is impossible to maintain the equilibrium of Europe; and when he is engaged, it must be his constant interest to act in concert with those that will act for the common cause; and, without his accession to the cause, I defy any body to shew any practicable scheme to withstand the formidable power of France; for, in this great and general question, the age and pacific temper of the cardinal cannot be considered. That is a reprieve so dubious and precarious, and may so suddenly vanish, that we must be void of common sense to take any measure from it; and besides, the inability we are under from making the same efforts we formerly did upon the continent, with respect to our own strength and forces, the immense expence we must continue to bear to carry on the war in America, (which must be supported preferably to all other points besides our defence at home,) so much beyond what was employed in those parts during the last two great wars, must be considered; and indeed it is incredible: so that although these are trifles in Mr. B———n’s way of thinking, compared with the necessity of supporting the pragmatic sanction, with great deference to his superior un-

derstanding, he will soon learn that he knows nothing of the sentiments and language of the british nation, (which he pretends to understand much better than the king and his ministers,) if he continues in that opinion.

“ In short, the employing the 12,000 Danes and Hessians, and 300,000*l.* in favour of the house of Austria, in the strictest sense, is not only his majesty’s quota, but the utmost effort he can make *totis viribus*, consistent with what is necessary for the security of his own dominions, and for carrying on the war against Spain in America. But I have troubled you too long with the crude notions of a friend, which you may read at leisure, and lay aside as soon as read; and if you guess at the author, you need only let him know, by a short line, that you received his troublesome epistle, and are willing to pardon, for this time, the trouble he has given you.”

“ P. S. May 26. Since writing what goes before, advices are received of the backwardness of Russia to march their troops for the support of the pragmatic sanction, occasioned, without doubt, as was foreseen, by the preparations of Sweden, and the fear, in so critical a juncture, of disobliging the king of Prussia. The French have given orders to augment their regular troops with 45,000 men, which will make them 200,000; 30,000 more militia are to be raised, which will make them 60,000. A camp is making near Valenciennes, for 20,000 men.

“ I would ask Mr. B————n, whether these steps are taken by France *pour se garantir du mal*, whether she is forced into them? I would ask him again, whether, in case France should encamp 40,000 men on the frontiers of Flanders, which may have at the same time a regard to England as well as Holland, and march 40,000 men towards the Rhine, such motions only without a blow could not be such a check to the present guarantees of the pragmatic sanction, as to make it impossible to expect a sufficient force to act against the king of Prussia? And I would ask, lastly, whether, in case so considerable an army could be got together as even to beat the king of Prussia in Silesia, whether we should be advanced one inch further towards promoting the pragmatic sanction? Nay, whether that prince, by having immediate recourse to an alliance with France, and the enemies of the austrian succession, would not put it in more danger

ger than ever? In the mean time, what can be done, besides having a fleet in the Mediterranean, (where France and Spain, if once united, may soon have a stronger,) to prevent an union between these two powers with the king of Sardinia, (who will certainly get something out of these troubles, and who is offered nothing by the court of Vienna,) and in consequence of that union to prevent the loss of all Italy?"

Such, however, was the infatuation of the austrian cabinet, that they continued to rely on the pacific assurances of France, until her armies had penetrated into Germany; and rejected the friendly and urgent remonstrances of the british cabinet, to secure the alliance of Prussia, by the cession of Silesia, until they were overwhelmed by their enemies, and compelled to yield that province to the prussian monarch, as the purchase of an uncertain neutrality.

During the summer of 1741 Mr. Walpôle resigned the place of cofferer of the household, which was held only during pleasure, and was appointed one of the tellers of the exchequer, which, though at that time inferior in profit, yet was more eligible, because it was a place for life.

CHAPTER 23.

1741—1742.

Letters of Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor, on the Neutrality of Hanover, on the Feuds in the Cabinet, and on the State of Foreign and Domestic Affairs—Mr. Walpole destroys many of his Papers, on the Resignation of his Brother.

DURING the important summer of 1741, Mr. Walpole maintained a constant and interesting correspondence with Mr. Trevor. Many of these letters are fortunately preserved; they describe the feuds and divisions in the cabinet, contain curious observations on the neutrality of Hanover, and display his opinion on the conduct of foreign affairs.

Letters from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor.*

“Wolterton, July 15, 1741. I have your favour of the 18th N. S. and heartily congratulate you upon the justice done to your parts and merits at the Hague †. You did the same to my brother, in returning him thanks; for I am persuaded that his offices were earnest, and they had their weight, the king having promised him to do it at Hanover the day before his departure. I can assure you that I had no other merit than good offices, and remembrance of you to my brother. But I pretend to no credit either in public or private matters at court, and the giving me the place of teller for *life* was done grudgingly. I give, when in town, my opinion on foreign matters, in the private conferences; but as it is not always agreeable to narrow electoral views, it is I believe seldom followed, and indeed minded till it is too late; and when it is not agreeable, by what another person hears in the closet about me, care is taken by the reporters to let me have the merit of it. But I should be very easy and contented,
and

* From the Hampden Papers.

† The king was at last prevailed upon to appoint Mr. Trevor, envoy and plenipotentiary, with a salary of 8l. a day.

and indeed transported, were I never to stir from this place again, provided public affairs were but tolerably well.

“I think there is a fatality attends the house of Austria ; and her days seem at last, as well as her power and glory, to be limited. Could any body have imagined, that, after the emperor’s death, Bartenstein would have been trusted, and that too continuing under a french influence, and instead of being disgraced, he is more powerful than ever, and that instead of——* , his regard for France acts more openly in her favour than ever.

“As to the king of Prussia, I have as bad an opinion of him as you can have ; but we should at least have left him without excuse. And if we had gained him, but for six months, which I really think might have been easily done, that time would have saved the house of Austria and England. For, in the first place, his interest and glory naturally must have led him to an accommodation with Vienna, upon good terms, I own ; but not greater than the necessity of the times required ; and that he was in earnest to do it, Baron Truchses, who has the best credit with him, was zealously bent upon it, and would have undertaken to have done it ; but we were wavering, our views relative to Hanover made us go backwards and forwards, and at last danger and necessity fixed us seriously for a reconciliation. But pride and bigotry will get the better, at the court of Vienna, even of danger and necessity. Had we accommodated even for six months between Austria and Prussia, upon a foot that would have appeared to the world serious, the cardinal, desponding of an alliance with Prussia, would not have taken any one vigorous step, either to distract the dominions of Austria, or to divert the imperial crown from the duke of Lorraine. He would have solicited ; he would have intrigued ; but he would have neither employed men nor money sufficient for that purpose, nor would he have encouraged or supported, to the degree he has done, Sweden to give trouble to Russia, and to tie up the hands of that powerful friend from acting in favour of the pragmatic sanction. The duke of Lorraine must have been made emperor ; and the king of Prussia, in conjunction with the maritime powers, and others who would have been associated to the common cause, must have continued firm to their true interests, if care had been taken to settle by common consent the affairs of Ost Frize, Mecklenburgh, and Berg and Juliers.

Juliers: But we have no great plan in view, or *système suivi*; we act by starts or fits: we will have this and that; another shall not have any thing, without giving us what does not belong to us; the Dutch are good for nothing; such a prince is a rascal, and such a minister a rogue; the pride and backwardness of Austria have made all offers and projects now a rope of sand; there are no two powers of a mind, about measures to be taken to save England. Ambassador Belle Isle will make the emperor at Franckfort, and marshal Belle Isle will carve out the austrian dominions as he pleases. We must wait to see what part these violent convulsions will take. Adieu."

"Wolterton, August 10, 1741.* I had an opportunity to run over your conversation with the pensionary and greffier, about giving the Netherlands to the king of Prussia; and am more inclined to the opinion of the first, than to that of my good old friend, for whose experience and judgment I have great deference, and should concur in it on this occasion, if it was a case that deserved, or could wait for, cool deliberation. But if the court of Vienna could have agreed to it without hesitation, the king of Prussia should, in my opinion, have marched immediately a body of troops to the Netherlands, as auxiliaries to her hungarian majesty, and to garrison the towns there for her, without declaring, or letting it at all have been known that there was any agreement or design to alter the property. And I must own to you, I would have had this done without letting our friends the Dutch into it, and have afterwards turned the matter into a negotiation; that is to say, the queen of Hungary should, upon the Prussians marching that way, let the States know, not time enough for them to have prevented it, or to have given France notice of it, that his prussian majesty had lent her a certain body of troops to garrison those places; she being obliged to employ

* During the course of the negotiation to conciliate the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the king of Prussia demanded the Austrian Netherlands, as the price of his alliance. In a letter to Mr. Trevor, dated Hanover, July $\frac{10}{30}$, 1741, lord Harrington acquaints him with this demand, and adds, "The king does not know in what manner the propofal will be received by the austrian court; yet, as it may not be rejected, wishes to know how such a scheme will be relished in Holland. He orders Mr. Trevor to give a

general account of what had passed, between the king of Prussia and lord Hyndford, to the pensionary and greffier, and send their thoughts on this new demand, taking care, however, not to leave them to think it is a notion encouraged by his majesty."

Mr. Trevor executed this delicate commission with extreme address, and transmitted an account of his conference, in a dispatch to lord Harrington, dated August 11, 1741, to which Mr. Walpole alludes.

employ her own forces in defence of the pragmatic sanction in other parts. I was thrown in a heap, when I found lord Harrington had given you orders to talk to any of the deputies upon it, lest France, by getting notice of it, should have attacked the Low Countries! This matter is now over; but the only great and insuperable difficulty I find in the whole affair, (not but there are many difficulties, considering the necessity of the case,) was the incompatibility of making a Protestant prince governor and master of so bigoted a country as the Netherlands, which the roman catholics would never suffer to be done.

“Wolterton, August 22, 1741. I am favoured with yours of the 22d instant, N. S. I have indeed been in London, on particular business; and, while I was there, assisted at several conferences relating to the present dismal situation of affairs, which are so bad, indeed, from several causes too tedious to mention, that I could not pretend to suggest a remedy; and the state of the administration separated at such a distance, and I am afraid with such different views in the conduct of affairs, made it not reasonable for me to expect that my opinion could be of weight enough to be followed.

“Lord Harrington’s correspondence is governed by all the art and skill of an old courtier. He discovers his master’s desires, without explaining them freely and in confidence to others here, or giving his own opinion upon them: he pretends to leave the decision of questions proposed, to others here; which questions he states in so strong a manner as puts them under a dilemma of either disobliging the king, or giving an opinion they think perhaps not for the interest of their country; so that it is very likely that his majesty will return again, as he did last year, in no good humour with his servants here. In the mean time, the notions of things and measures are not uniform on this side of the water. Popularity, and pomp, and glory, of old just and honourable principles, with regard to the liberties and the balance of Europe, and the freedom of our commerce, are carried on by some with a vehemence and extension beyond what the abilities and powers of this country can bear; so that there is no time to think coolly, or to act with uniformity. Pardon this digression, which is to yourself alone. My heart is full!”

“Wolterton, Sept. 12, 1741. I have your favour of the 12th instant; and although I am extremely concerned, I am not at all surprised at the

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melancholy news you send me, because it is no more than a natural and obvious consequence of the fatal step, in not having gained the king of Prussia, and having suffered him, in consequence, to fling himself into an alliance with, and even into the power of, France. However bad, uncertain, and unaccountable, the natural disposition of the king of Prussia might be, the securing of him only for this year, in favour of the pragmatic sanction, would have established the succession, and have chosen, if the allies pleased, the duke of Lorraine emperor. Had the king of Prussia been gained, the cardinal, we know it for certain, would not have sent three millions of florins to enable Sweden to begin the war against Russia; Russia would consequently have been able to send 30,000 men for the service of the queen of Hungary; the elector of Saxony, who has acted indeed a loose part from the beginning, encompassed by Hanover, Prussia, and Russia, must have followed the views and motives of those powers; the cardinal, who, until he had gained Prussia, pretended that he would not oppose the pragmatic sanction, would not have marched a man towards the Meuse, Munster, &c. nor trusted an army to the conduct of the elector of Bavaria. In short, the queen of Hungary's allies would have formed so compact and powerful a body on all sides, that they might have done what they pleased in the choice of an emperor; and as France will, and must, do now what she pleases, and I have not at all doubted, from the time the queen of Hungary refused to satisfy the king of Prussia's demands, and, what is the same thing, from the time the king of Prussia had signed a treaty with France, but this last power would march where she pleases, and choose what emperor she pleases, which will soon be, and without opposition, the elector of Bavaria. In the mean time our friends the Dutch will act and talk by starts and fits, and, like a body over-run with complicated distempers, be agitated by various passions, or hopes, fear and despair intermixt, sometimes with the appearance of some short-lived spirit and vigour; and therefore, in this convulsed state of Europe, while the king of Prussia is so tied to France, and to the allies of France, I always consider what you hint at, and has been suggested, I suppose, to you from another quarter, of a neutrality with Prussia, as a mere phantom, that could signify nothing. Should the king of Prussia agree not to let his troops attack the electorate of Hanover, or to be employed on that side, then he would have more troops to employ elsewhere against the queen of Hungary, and per-
haps

haps the electorate of Hanover would not be attacked. But, would not the French and the troops of Cologne keep the electoral forces, the hired Danes and Hessians, in check, and make them entirely useless to the common cause?

“What do you mean by saying, *had a spirit appeared in England to act up to the late addresses with respect to the electorate*? I must own, dear Trevor, I don’t well conceive now how that would have disposed the Dutch to have been more attentive to that quarter. When the alarm came from Hanover, of the dangers that threatened those parts, 12,000 men were offered to be sent over. Why they were not sent for, nor what they would have signified had they gone, I must own I don’t see. But you know, my good friend, that the Dutch were diverted from any attention for Hanover, by that having been made the first and principal condition of our acting at setting out in the beginning, which order was sent to you with the knowledge of no other minister but him that sent it, till it was gone and executed; and therefore don’t impute any backwardness of the Dutch, with regard to Hanover, to the want of spirit in England for the support of those parts. That is not wanting; it would have followed of course, had our primary views and actions been levelled and directed to the true point. But it is too late to look back, as well as disagreeable to you and me.”

“Wolterton, Sept. 19, 1741. O. S. I am favoured with yours of the 22d, and I find by what you say, as well as from what I hear from other quarters, that the news of the conclusion of the Hanover neutrality was premature; but am of opinion, that, however lord Harrington may palliate the matter for the present, it will certainly be done; and although we are, on this side of the water, entirely strangers to this whole transaction, and must acquiesce in it; yet I am still surprised, besides being concerned at the thing itself, (as you as well as myself may be, for several reasons,) why you are under such uneasiness at the unjust reproaches of friends or enemies at the Hague. Indeed it is not pleasant being minister at a place where the people, with whom business is to be transacted, are out of humour at our master; but it is some comfort to be able to shew them, that *they* have no reason to be out of humour at what has happened. And how the pensionary can call it a *private bargain*, or piece of jockeyship, I can’t imagine. He may be sorry for it, and see the inconveniencies of it; but then his reproaches

should fall upon his own people, and not upon the elector of Hanover, much less upon the king of England, (for I believe you still think it was concerted in England, which it was not,) though that is not a proper defence to be made on your side.

“But I desire you will ask the pensionary, not by way of quarrel, but in a friendly manner, these plain questions. Did not the king of Prussia form an army of 30,000 of observation towards Magdeburgh, in order to check or attack the elector of Hanover? For what? why, according to the part our king should act in favour of the pragmatic sanction. Why are the French army to be joined by Palatines and Cologners, &c. marched towards Munster and Westphalia, in order to keep in check, or perhaps to attack, the electorate of Hanover? For what? why, for the part he has acted as king, by his speeches in parliament, in support of the pragmatic sanction, which the States should equally by virtue of the same treaty support. And, have the States taken one step towards that support, or to defend those that might be attacked for doing what they should do themselves? Will you ask of the pensionary, whether the king, when he found that 50,000 men were marching, without opposition, against him as elector, and he could not depend on above 30,000 to oppose them, considering the behaviour of the Danes, and the desertion of Saxony, should have stood the shock, and ventured to engage against so powerful a force on such unequal terms? And therefore, although you must say nothing for or against as suggested by me, (I am no minister, nor am I capable of giving you advice,) yet I cannot but be concerned to see you at a loss to know what to say to our friends, which is to encourage them to take heart against those in the republic that have by their dilatory managing, selfish principles, been the occasion of it; and let them see, what you hint at yourself, their scandalous behaviour in shewing plainly that they should suffer the king as elector to be torn in pieces, without giving him the least assistance to prevent his ruin, and yet reproach him in using the only means to prevent it. Therefore, the pensionary may be made sensible, that, as the king in February last asked for the assistance of the States to support him as elector, and they refused to give it him, that was the reason why the king was not able, though supported by England, with the 12,000 Danes and Hessians, to resist the powerful enemies that were in the march to attack him; and therefore obliged to have
recourse

recourse to the only means of salvation, which was neutrality ; and, ask the pensionary what other means of salvation was left for him, I believe he will not be able to tell you.

“ But I have done on this melancholy subject. It would indeed be a fortunate thing if this neutrality was not concluded, considering the advantage the Russians have obtained over the Swedes. But the post stays, I have not time to read over my letter : pardon the faults !”

“ Sept. 16, 1741, O. S. The foreign dispatches having followed my brother and Mr. H. Pelham into the country, I have had an opportunity of perusing them, and yours among the rest, as far as the 12th of this month, N. S. I read what you had said to the pensionary upon his notable confidence, that the States intended to take no resolution of increase of vigour, until the season of action was over ; and I intended to have troubled you with some thoughts, to shew that preparations and motions were the only way to make the cardinal halt, whose vigour was always raised in proportion to the indolence, inactivity, and fear of his neighbours ; but the receipt of yours of the 19th has called forth another question.

“ I do not in the least doubt but Mr. Van Hoey's views of a neutrality between Hanover and Versailles, and the allies of the last, with regard to Germany, is true ; for no other neutrality (*viz.* with Prussia) could have signified a farthing ; and by some expressions in your letter, of the resentment it has occasioned with you against England, and what you hinted in a former letter, of our not acting up to the addresses with respect to the electorate, it looks as if some thought, and that you had given into the thought, (*viz.*) that this neutrality was transacted, or encouraged, or occasioned, by concert with the ministry here, and from an unwillingness on their side to support the elector of Hanover, and the torrent of your agony and reflections seems to flow from that supposition ; than which nothing is more groundless, let your intelligence come from any quarter whatsoever ; that intimation may have been artfully flung out, 'tis evident with what design ; but it is not true.

“ You yourself know, that the security of Hanover, instead of being made the consequence of measures and operations, was always put foremost ; by a particular confidence between lord Harrington and the king, that point has employed, since their journey to Hanover, solely their attention there ;
and

and no confidence, nor concert of measures, taken with the ministry here ; but after things have been resolved by hanoverian counsels, ensnaring questions have been sent, and asked, to procure a justification, from hence, of what was resolved before at the place from whence these questions came, but particularly in regard to a neutrality. It was at first intimated to be made with Prussia only, and then darkly hinted to be made with all the enemies of the house of Austria, (finding, I suppose, that the thoughts of doing it with Prussia only, so allied as the king was, must be impracticable or absurd.) Our fear increasing at Hanover, from the french motions, a question was asked, what assistance could be sent from hence to prevent the ruin of the electorate? (and I dare say the resolution for a neutrality, in one shape or other, was then actually taken, and far advanced;) intimating, that, without a sufficient assistance, there was no way for salvation besides that of a neutrality. The answer returned was, that 12,000 men were ready, and would immediately be sent upon the first notice of his majesty's commands; but that no more than 12,000 could be spared from hence; and if it was not sufficient, the ministry here would not pretend to interfere in what his majesty might think necessary for the defence of his dominions abroad. Soon after I hear no requisition was made of these 12,000 men, but more questions asked, of so intricate a nature as received no other answer than the desire of his majesty's immediate return to England.

“During this transaction, emissaries were sent to Saxony and Prussia, with instructions of real confidence in the first, that has been constantly playing the rogue, and with submissive and feigned good-will towards the last; and at last one was sent to Paris, whose errand and instructions have been, and are still, a mystery to every body here. But they have, as it was natural to suppose, produced this neutrality.

“Surely, after all I have said, you will not call it a creature or child of England. I was a little concerned, I own, to see the tenour of your letters point that way. Far from being of opinion that the addresses in favour of the electorate should not be supported when I was in town, it was the unanimous opinion that they should, in the strongest and most effectual manner; but no questions were ever asked, until it was plain that the resolution of what shall be done was already taken; and therefore the resentment against England on this head is entirely unjust.

“But,

“ But, having said this much in great confidence, which you will easily believe, from the nature of it, I would not have said to any body else whatsoever besides yourself, I must own, on the other side, that I think the Dutch, whether friends or enemies, have no just reason to complain; and I think, when it is proper, and you have suitable orders for that purpose, you may easily shew them how much they are in the wrong to censure this conduct, considering their behaviour.

“ They were fairly asked, from the beginning, whether they looked upon Hanover to be included in our alliances, and what they would do in support of it, should the case exist? They were afterwards pressed to speak and act with vigour, jointly with us, on this great occasion of the emperor's death. They indeed seemed to have spirit at first against the king of Prussia, (not for the sake of the pragmatic sanction, but lest that prince should thwart the particular views of Amsterdam;) but this magnanimity soon dwindled into nothing; the principle which chiefly prevailed was, not to appear to act in confidence and concert with England without regard to Hanover; although it was evident that the resentment of Prussia, against the king as elector, was on account of the part he was acting, as king, in behalf of the house of Austria. But England lost no time in providing 12,000 men, Hessians and Danes, their contingent for the queen of Hungary, and added 300,000 l. which, I will be bold to say, was acting immediately *totis viribus*, considering the expence we were obliged to be at for supporting the war against Spain. During all this time, what one step did the Dutch take for the pragmatic sanction, for Hanover, if attacked on that account, or in concert with England? His majesty, at the same time, used his utmost and earnest endeavours to reconcile the courts of Vienna and Prussia. The States liked that, because it tended to peace, and made it a handle not to furnish their quota; but their ministers nowhere joined or concurred in that pacific measure, for fear of disobliging somebody or other, or of being thought to act in concert with England, although they are parties to the † * * * * treaty, by which our mutual obligations exist with respect to the present juncture. Nor did they make the least step towards furnishing their quota, as they are obliged to do by virtue of every treaty, when ours was ready; but,

with

† Illegible.

with much ado, seemed disposed (although they have not that option by treaty,) to give it in money, which is not yet done, and must come so late as cannot possibly be of any service.

“This being the case, they have not made the least motion or overture in favour of the pragmatic sanction, in concert with England, nor towards serving Hanover, when it was likely to be over-run with French, Palatines, Colognes, and Prussians, purely on account of what the king was doing, as king, in support of the cause which they are equally obliged to defend. For God’s sake, with what face can either friends or enemies in Holland make as great an outcry as on the *separation of troops in 1712*? Separation from whom? From those that would never act either in arms or council with us. It is very possible the republicans may be loudest against what they like, and by that means push the neutrality to the Low Countries; (I always thought a Hanover neutrality would be followed by that there) but the States have indeed acted with the most perfect neutrality ever since the emperor’s death: and because the elector of Hanover was necessitated to save his own dominions, for the preservation of which the States would not give one man or one farthing; therefore England, that has made the greatest effort she could, and as much as she was obliged to make for a cause in which the States, both in interest and obligation, are equally concerned, must be abused, and be the occasion of the States taking a step that must entirely put an end to all their obligations.

“This way of reasoning, or rather railing, is abominable with regard to England; (and although, as I said at first, I don’t approve, between you and me, the conduct at Hanover,) I can’t see how any one man in Holland can find fault with it, since it was chiefly occasioned by their own behaviour; and therefore, dear Trevor, however the king be reproached *for having broke company*—What company? It cannot be said to be the Dutch, for he has never had their company, and was not likely ever to have it in time, or to any purpose; and that you seem to say, by adding, that if the news of the neutrality be false, you are not the nearer in having their company. What company has the king then broke? he had 20,000 men of his hanoverian troops; he expected to have 12,000 Hessians and Danes; but it was plain the first would not march. He depended

“ Is there any man in Holland reproaches the king with what he has done, not only as king, (in which capacity he has acted up to his obligations,) but even as elector? Wherever he is, he must be, dear Trevor, the most impudent fellow I ever heard; yet I am sure I am as good a dutchman as any foreigner can be, and a great deal better than the F——h and Van——dayn, who are pensioners to France, or than H——n, who is a mad republican, and would sacrifice his own country, and England, to die a martyr for that cause.

"Your's most affectionately, and for ever."

“ You will burn this ; but I cannot help adding, that I hope, now the
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affair

affair of the empire is over ; our friends in Holland will think of means of saving the maritime powers, or let us know fairly whether each nation is to take care of itself."

" Cockpit, Oct. 21, 1740. There is such a contrast in our way of thinking and talking, and a mixture in some of dulness and cunning, that I don't expect much light from this chaos. Lord Harrington, as I am told, (for we have not seen one another,) says that a negotiation with Prussia is not desperate. His majesty, by a short conversation I have had with him, is far from thinking any such thing ; and I believe his lordship does not press him upon it, but would have others do it, in order to get anger without any success, while his lordship is all complaisance, and says nothing to incur displeasure. On the other side, the king was pleased to tell me, that you and lord Harrington had found the States very well disposed to assist him. I did take the liberty to let his majesty know that I heard they had declared the same thing to you as they had last year to me ; which was, that in case his majesty was attacked here, they would, and must go to his assistance. But I could not forbear adding, that unless they immediately set about an augmentation of forces, either by foreign troops or raising new regiments, should France, at the same time as she ventured to attack Great Britain, march a body of 5000 men towards Flanders, I could not see how the States could put that good-will in execution. I could perceive that his majesty's present plan is to go directly to the emperor, and to press him to put the empire in a condition to act. Whatever we should offer to his imperial majesty for this purpose, without having formed an alliance with other powers, I am afraid he dares not accept ; and the money, if taken, would be squandered away. I have, indeed, drawn out my notions *, too long to be sent you by post, and not worth the carriage. Two or three persons have seen them, and particularly our friend Mr. Poyntz and I have canvassed them over ; but we both think them so disagreeable to the present temper here, with respect to Prussia, that they will never be relished, and consequently will never be pressed by him whose business and office it is to do it ; and, therefore, I shall lock my thoughts up, and keep by degrees as much as I can out of the scene of foreign affairs.

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* He alludes to his project of a grand alliance.

“ I am fully convinced that the king of Prussia is against the formidable power of France ; nay, I know that, in his correspondence with ladies of wit here, he has said that he loved the french people, but that he hated the power of the crown, and must oppose it, although he was sorry for it. But I am as fully convinced that we do not think here of getting him. I believe I described to you the same person as you mention, to be sent to Berlin, and I named him here long before ; but the duke of Newcastle does not care he should be engaged so far in business, and Sir Robert Walpole does not care to have him absent from the house of lords. But he that governs all, will not be disposed to make his relation so great a compliment at present : perhaps necessity, and finding all things standing still, may at last make an impression. I have suggested another plan, which is, that the russian court having declared that they cannot make an alliance with us, but in conjunction with other powers, (meaning particularly Prussia,) and having hinted that they intend to give us a counter project, in which they propose to include Prussia and Denmark, I would stay for that counter project, to make it the foundation of a grand alliance.”

“ Nov. 27, 1741. I own I was a good deal concerned at the humble and submissive conclusion of our good old friend’s answer to the complaint of Fenelon, relating to the supposed spurious treaty between France and Bavaria ; the best answer, in my opinion, would have been to desire to have seen the *real treaty* ; but we have not spirit enough to speak in that style. But, if my friends will believe me, a steady and firm language * * * * in terms not at all offensive for their own security, and for acting in concert with their allies, to have the same engagements, and the same common cause for preserving the liberties of Europe, would have a greater effect upon the cardinal, than the most servile flattery and complaisance. For, as long as his eminence thinks he can get the better by appearances, without running the hazard of a blow, he will be led by others in France so far as to make it impossible to recoil, and they will force him to strike when he never intended it ; and let Amelot scatter his menaces as much as he pleases, if the States shew they have no effect to divert them from strengthening themselves, nor to hurry them into a neutral and indifferent state, the cardinal will soon make Amelot hold

his tongue, or a milder language. I speak from a knowledge of the man." * * * * *

Soon after the date of this letter, the king returned to England, and opened the new parliament, which was followed by the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole*.

I find no documents or papers in the Walpole Collection relative to this event. Mr. Walpole had long perceived and lamented the decline of his brother's influence, the perpetual bickerings with the duke of Newcastle, and the increasing feuds in the cabinet. He had repeatedly urged him to resign, particularly at the commencement of the spanish disputes, when he might have retired with dignity and honour. But the natural attachment which Sir Robert Walpole felt for long possessed authority, and the repeated exhortations of the king not to desert him at so critical an emergency, prevailed over this prudent advice; and the minister remained in power until he was driven from his post by a triumphant opposition.

It is, indeed, a matter of extreme regret to all lovers of history, that Mr. Walpole terminated his Apology for his own conduct, soon after his embassy at the Hague. He returned to England at a most critical time, when the violence of parties had arrived almost to the highest point; when the unsuccessful operations in the West Indies began to render the war with Spain unpopular, and involved in that unpopularity the whole administration, even the minister who had opposed hostilities; when the violent struggles took place for the new elections on the dissolution of parliament; when his brother, secretly undermined by several members of the cabinet, deserted by many who called themselves his friends, and borne down by a strong opposition supported by the prince of Wales, was finally compelled to resign.

The cabals to form a new administration, the separation of the heterogeneous parts which composed the opposition, the efforts to bring the ex-minister to the block, and the secret means by which those efforts were defeated, would have received new light from the pen of Mr. Walpole. It is probable that the delicacy of the subject restrained him from committing to paper events of such moment, in which the reputation, and even

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 59.

even life of his brother were at stake, and in which the characters of so many persons were involved.

But, perhaps, the springs of these events might have been traced from his papers and correspondence, had not the sanguinary spirit of that party, which pursued the minister to destruction, compelled Mr. Walpole to sacrifice numerous documents, of the most interesting nature, to his brother's safety. As the enemies of Sir Robert Walpole seemed desirous to impute to him alone all the measures pursued during his continuance in office, apprehensions were justly entertained lest orders should be issued, by the committee of secrecy, for seizing the papers, not only of the minister himself, but even those of his brother. It became, therefore, prudent to destroy those documents which might, perhaps, involve the ex-minister in difficulties and danger. Accordingly Mr. Walpole went down to Wolterton and burned numerous papers, particularly a great part of the private correspondence between him and his brother, and other papers relating to this important period.

CHAPTER 24.

1743—1744.

Mr. Walpole supports the Vote of Supply for the Maintenance of the Hanoverian Troops, and opposes the Motion for their Dismission—Divided State of the Ministry—Motives of his Conduct—Mr. Pelham appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Character—Attempt of the French to invade England—Zeal of the Parliament and Nation.

THE first public measure which called for the exertions of Mr. Walpole, after the resignation of his brother, was the motion made in the house of commons, the 10th of December 1742, by Sir William Yonge, to grant the sum of 265,190*l.* to his majesty, for defraying the charge of 16,000 hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain.

This motion was ably combated by Pitt, Waller, and lord Quarendon, who expatiated on the usual topics of declamation, that, since the accession of the house of Brunswick, the helm of the British government had been uniformly guided by the Hanover rudder. It was extremely embarrassing to those members of the new administration who had vehemently opposed the measures of Sir Robert Walpole, as wholly subservient to the interests of Hanover. Mr. Sandys, chancellor of the exchequer, gave a silent vote in favour of the question; but lord Percival*, in direct contradiction to his former principles, defended it with great ability.

Mr. Walpole opposed the violent invective against Hanover with an assertion equally positive, though, perhaps, equally ungrounded; that in no one instance had the interests of England been sacrificed to the interests of Hanover, but, on the contrary, the interests of Hanover had always been subservient to those of England. It must be confessed, that he maintained his position with extreme address, and supported his assertions with a luminous deduction of facts, from the treaty of Utrecht to the period in question. It would be needless to follow him through
this

* Afterwards Earl of Egmont, and author of the famous political pamphlet, "Faction Detected."

this long deduction; but I cannot withhold a passage of his speech, which exhibits the question of hiring foreign forces in its true light, independent of parties, time, and circumstances.

“ I have as good, and perhaps as just an opinion of our naval force, and of the bravery of our seamen, as any gentleman; but let us recollect what a figure France made at sea towards the latter end of the last century, and even in the last war, during the reign of queen Anne. If we had then had no assistance from the Dutch, we should not perhaps have found ourselves such an over-match for the French at sea, as some people imagine we are; and yet, during all that time, she kept up most numerous armies at land. What then have we to expect, should the whole treasure and strength of France, or the greatest part of both, be turned towards gaining a superiority, or at least an equality at sea? In the two last wars*, we gained, it is true, by the help of the Dutch, several great naval victories over the French; but it was not altogether by those victories we beat them out of that element. If I may be allowed the expression, by land we beat them out of the sea. We obtained so great and so many victories at land, that they were forced to neglect their sea affairs, in order to apply their whole strength, both in money and men, to defend their country, I may say their capital. Therefore, if both France and Spain should join in a war against us, and we should have no one to assist us, nor they any enemy to fear at land, I would not have gentlemen vainly imagine that we should be in no danger of losing our superiority, even upon our own element; and if we did, what dreadful consequences should we not have to apprehend!” †

Besides this speech, Mr. Walpole, in an animated reply to Mr. Pitt, adverted to some virulent pamphlets, which at this time deluged the public, and to which a contemporary historian alludes: “ All these topics were blazoned out to the public, in a set of the most flagitious and indecent writings that ever appeared in England. The press did not now, as formerly,

* Namely, during the reigns of king William and queen Anne.

† Chandler's Debates, vol. 14, p. 131. The speech of Mr. Walpole, on this occasion, was given in several periodical publications, and is

preserved in Chandler. I have no doubt of its authenticity, as several of his other speeches, in the subsequent debates, appear to have been published verbatim from copies in his own handwriting, which are among his papers.

formerly, point at the minister alone, but at his master, because of his double capacity of king and elector, and the people were, on that account, heated to distraction. It was easily foreseen, that if the opposition within doors should continue to be as strong as it was in the preceding session, the consequences to the internal peace of the kingdom might be fatal; and this consideration was the more serious, because a secret spirit of discontent began now to insinuate itself into some of the officers of the army, both at home and abroad, upon account of the hanoverian troops*."

Among the pamphlets here alluded to, "The Case of the Hanover Forces in the Pay of Great Britain," written by the earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Waller, made the greatest impression on the public mind, and called forth from Mr. Walpole his celebrated answer, "The Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued," which, in the space of three weeks, passed through three editions, and was of considerable service in removing the prejudices excited by the declamations of opposition.

At this period the king and his ministers felt the value of such essential services; for the war had now become unpopular, a rupture with France was unavoidable, and the motley administration, who had succeeded Sir Robert Walpole, were weak, and divided among themselves; all, except lord Carteret, disliked by the king, and all without the confidence of the nation.

The ministry were divided into two principal parties; those who had acted under Sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the southern department, Mr. Pelham, pay-master of the forces, lord chancellor Hardwicke, the earl of Harrington, president of the council; and this phalanx was supported by the dukes of Dorset, Richmond, Montague and Grafton. On the opposite side were lord Carteret, secretary of state for the northern department, the earl of Winchelsea, first lord of the admiralty, earl Gower, privy seal, and Mr. Sandys, chancellor of the exchequer; their subordinate co-adjutors, the duke of Bolton, and the marquis of Tweeddale. The earl of Wilmington, first lord of the treasury, was little more than a cypher, being in an infirm state of health, and wholly devoted to the king. The duke of Argyle was timid, and fluctuated between both parties with his usual versatility.

From

* Tindal, vol. 20, p. 589.

From the formation of the ministry, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle and lord Carteret had struggled for ascendancy. Had great talents, a decisive line of conduct, and the favour of the sovereign, influenced the contest, the scale would have preponderated on the side of Carteret ; but he possessed the attachment of no party, and had little influence in either house of parliament, besides what was derived from his abilities as a speaker ; while the duke of Newcastle was the chief leader of the Whigs, was seconded by the abilities of his brother Mr. Pelham, and supported by the weight and sterling sense of lord chancellor Hardwicke. He was likewise aided by the secret influence of the earl of Orford, who prevailed on the king to place Mr. Pelham at the head of the treasury, on the death of the earl of Wilmington, in opposition to the earnest solicitations of Carteret, in favour of his friend and patron the earl of Bath*. This nomination took place while George the Second was reposing himself after his victory at Dettingen, and while he was conducting, through the medium of lord Carteret, those complicated negotiations which terminated in the treaty of Worms. The appointment of Mr. Pelham was so unexpected, even to the duke of Newcastle, that he expressed his surprise in a letter to lord chancellor Hardwicke :

“ My Dear Lord, Whitehall, Tuesday night, 11 o'clock †,

“ This evening a messenger arrived from the army with the enclosed agreeable, but most surprising news. I send you all I know of it, and beg you would send the letters back to me by this messenger, when you have read them. My friend Carteret’s letter to my brother is a manly one ; and that to me, in many parts of it, has the appearance of a kind one. *It is plain we have got the better of him*, and our master has been *surprisingly* firm ; but what has produced this, just at this time, I am at a loss to conceive. The use we are to make of it, and the answers, both private and public, will require great and immediate consideration. Mr. Scrope will carry the warrant through the several offices forthwith ; but perhaps (though I scarce believe it) Mr. Sandys, &c. may resign, and then there may not be a board, except Gybbon and G. Compton will remain, though the other two quit.”

This

* See *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, chap. 62.

† Without date of the year or month, but endorsed by lord Hardwicke, "August 23, 1743, at night." Hardwicke Papers.

This appointment gave no less pleasure to the Walpole party, and Mr. Fox writes to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "A warrant is just come to appoint Mr. Pelham first commissioner of the Treasury. Huzza!"* "Downing-street house looks well, and *un honnête homme* may again go into it†."

Soon after the meeting of parliament Mr. Sandys was created a peer, and the office of chancellor of the exchequer conferred on Mr. Pelham, who was from this time considered as the leader of the house of commons.

Henry Pelham was second son of Thomas lord Pelham, by lady Grace, fourth daughter of Gilbert Holles earl of Clare, and sister to John duke of Newcastle. He was born in 1696, and, being of a Whig family, closely attached himself to the partisans of the Brunswick line, and distinguished himself against the rebels‡ as a captain of dragoons in the regiment of major-general Dormer. At the age of twenty-one, in 1718, he obtained a seat in parliament, first for the borough of Seaford in Sussex, and afterwards for the county, which he continued to represent till his death. Before his nomination to the treasury, he had filled the offices of secretary at war and pay-master of the forces.

Mr. Pelham displayed, in his respective offices, great method and application to business; in his first efforts in parliament, he was confused and inelegant, but improved by practice, and became an able debater§; and, to use the expressions of lord Chesterfield, "spoke with a certain candour and openness that made him well heard, and generally believed." He managed the finances with extreme care and probity, and with as much economy as was compatible with the profuse expenditure of public money, which the system of foreign affairs, adopted by his brother, had rendered necessary; he also gained great popularity and credit by reducing the interest of the national debt. He was inferior to his brother in quickness of apprehension; but had a sounder judgment, and more accom-

* Thursday night, 11 o'clock. Hanbury Papers. † October 9, 1744.

‡ As many engravings have been given of Mr. Pelham in the latter period of his life, I have preferred a portrait which represents him at the age of 21, when he was captain of dragoons, and which is in the possession of Cresset Pelham, esq.

§ He is mentioned in a contemporary publication "as the most genteel speaker in the house of commons: yet the elegance of his style did not weaken the force of his reasoning. He carefully avoided all personal reflection, and though zealously attached to the minister, was never known to incur the ill-will of any party."

Gent. Mag. 1740, p. 230.



Gardiner del

Pub Feb 1 1802 by the Rev W Cox London

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My Dear Lord
 your Lordships most affectionate and faithful servt
 H. Pelham

THE RT HON^{BLE} HENRY PELHAM

From an Original in the Possession of Crescent Pelham Esq.

accommodating temper, which enabled him to unite and keep together the discordant parts of the heterogeneous administration. As a public character he was extremely popular, and in domestic life was highly beloved and respected. Mr. Walpole entertained a strong partiality in favour of Mr. Pelham, and uniformly supported his administration; their friendship was heightened by the conformity of their characters*, and their mutual tendency to pacific measures. They maintained a frequent and confidential correspondence, in which Mr. Walpole delivered his opinion with his usual frankness and spirit.

Mr. Walpole again displayed his zeal in the next session, when the discontents of the nation rose to an extraordinary height; and the question for the continuance of the Hanover troops in British pay agitated parliament with as much violence as any question during his brother's administration. The public were inflamed with the most violent imputations of the king's partiality to his native troops, who were stigmatized with cowardice, insolence, and disobedience. On these motives lord Stair resigned the command of the army, the duke of Marlborough his commission of major-general, and numerous officers, who served at the battle of Dettingen, were prepared to support these assertions by evidence before the house of commons. The disgust of the army spread rapidly among the nation, and the very name of a Hanoverian became a term of reproach.

These discontents were rendered highly dangerous by the disunion of the

* The firm, honest, and friendly character of Mr. Pelham will appear from a confidential letter to Mr. Walpole :

“ Esher-place, Dec. 25, 1752. * * *
* * * I did speak to a certain person in favour of lord Orford some days before I left London, taking the liberty of saying that it was a reproach to his majesty's ministers, if not a little to the *king himself*, that your brother's grandson should so long remain unprovided for, which was taken in a right manner. But my applications to his majesty have generally proved unsuccessful, particularly of late, which, from former precedents, I conclude proceeds from my asking nothing but what to me appears for his

majesty's service. I wish he may not repent too late, for I fear he will find great inconveniences from taking personal prejudices to the first families in England. Whilst I am in his service I will say what I think ; but we all wear out ; I hope I shall not fall into that common trap, of being the last discoverer of when it is time to give over. My friends may and do convince me it is pretty near ; my enemies may tease, but, thank God, can't hurt me. I enjoy Esher with pleasure ; the weather is fine, and though I am at present alone, I find reflection sits very easy upon my mind. I am, dear Horace, ever most affectionately yours.”

the ministry, which arose from the overbearing behaviour of lord Carteret. During the course of his complicated negotiations in Germany, he seldom corresponded with the ministers in England; and when he condescended to write to them, his letters conveyed little more than the details which appeared in the next gazette.

“Your lordship,” writes the duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, after giving an account of foreign news, “will see that these, and indeed all our accounts, are from private hands; and I can never write or think upon this obstinate and offensive silence, without expressing both my surprise and my resentment*.” “The long and obstinate silence,” observes lord Hardwicke in answer, “of your brother Carteret, is most surprising and unaccountable; for my own part, I have been so much used to it, that I live here a country gentleman, without expecting any lights from thence.”

The deference of Carteret to the prejudices of the king drew on him the odium of being the sole promoter of german measures, and even to his intervention was imputed the inactivity of the allies after the battle of Dettingen. Not only the opposition, but the ministers who were called upon to support him, considered his plans as romantic, impracticable and destructive, and those measures which he obstructed were denominated *strictly english*. The Pelham party in the cabinet adopted these sentiments in their full latitude. The chancellor refused to put the seal to a convention with the king of Sardinia, explanatory of the treaty of Worms; and though lord Carteret declared that the king should affix it himself, yet the matter was debated in the cabinet council, and various alterations, proposed by the Pelhams, carried by a majority of five†.

But

* Clermont, Oct. 1, 1743.

† FOR THE ALTERATIONS.

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke,
Lord President Harrington,
Duke of Newcastle,
Duke of Dorset,
Duke of Richmond,
Duke of Montague,
Duke of Argyle, (rather doubtful)
Duke of Grafton,
Mr. Pelham.

AGAINST ALTERATIONS.

Lord Carteret,
Lord Winchelsea,
Lord Tweedale,
Duke of Bolton.

Lord Hardwicke's Parl. Journal.

But the measure to which they were most adverse, was the continuance of the hanoverian troops in the british pay, and to which, till a few days before the meeting of parliament, they had determined to refuse their support, with a view to acquire popularity, to humiliate Carteret, and to further a reconciliation with the Tories*.

The influence of lord Orford suspended a rupture in the cabinet, and prevented this public insult to the king: he prevailed on the Pelhams to acquiesce in the measure, and obtained the support of his personal friends in parliament. Mr. Walpole warmly espoused his brother's sentiments, and was peculiarly useful on this important occasion, during the absence of Mr. Pelham, who had vacated his seat on his recent promotion, and did not reassume it until several of the debates on this subject were concluded.

The session began on the 1st of December; and in the first debate, the conduct of the allied forces at the battle of Dettingen, and the king's partiality to the Hanoverians, were made a subject of invective. Lord Carteret was severely censured, and Mr. Pitt styled him "an execrable, a sole minister, who had renounced the british nation, and seemed to have drunk of the potion described in poetic fictions, which made men forget their country."

Soon after this debate, Mr. Walpole, in a confidential letter to Mr. Trevor, described the divided state of the cabinet, and displayed the principles on which he and his party supported the measures of government.

"Dear Sir,

Cockpit, Dec. 13, 1743, O. S.

"It is not very proper, nor indeed very easy, to give you an account, in writing, of our domestic affairs; one† part of the ministry is so enterprising and bold, as to think all difficulties trifles; and the other‡ so timid, as to think trifles insuperable difficulties. The first treats the last with the utmost contempt, and the last would be acting to get rid of the first, even at the hazard of the public. These divisions naturally encourage and give spirit to the opponents, and consequently will make it a troublesome sessions. The question proposed for dismissing the Hanoverians

* The duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, Nov. 7, 1743.—Hardwicke Papers.

† Lord Carteret.

‡ The duke of Newcastle.

verians might have been carried in the negative by a greater majority, if any pains had been taken for the purpose; and yet perhaps, if it is resolved that a certain person * is to go abroad in the spring, the question for those troops, when proposed in a proper and seasonable time, may meet with difficulty to pass unless great pains be taken.

“ In the mean time the old friends of the landlord take no other part but that of supporting the mansion-house on this side the water; and although they could wish that the cottage on the other side was less regarded, and more affection was shewn to the tenants here, yet they cannot abandon their old master and his family, though they think the favourite steward acts with too much arrogance and presumption; and the exigency of affairs will not suffer an enquiry into his conduct at present, which some sanguine young tenants are too forward in, not considering that they will endanger the whole by precipitation at this juncture.

“ As to the conduct of a top tenant at leaving his farm, I think nothing but the utmost necessity can excuse the step he has taken.”

Mr. Walpole did not speak in this debate for the address, and but slightly on Mr. Waller's motion for the dismissal of the Hanover troops; but reserved his whole strength for the discussion of the motion for continuing the forces, in the committee of supply on the 17th of January†.

It was a day of great expectation; both parties had been diligent in mustering their whole strength, and the number of members present amounted to 500. The motion to continue the troops of Hanover, was made by Sir William Yonge, in the same words as in the preceding year; and he supported the question with his usual ability. Mr. Horace Walpole, third son of the earl of Orford, made an elegant and judicious speech, in which he aptly applied a passage in Lucan's *Pharsalia* to the king:

“ *Livor edax tibi cuncta negat, Gallosque subactos*

“ *Vix impune feres.*”

The inconsiderate warmth of Mr. Stanley, who charged the king, by name, with having shewn a notorious partiality to his electoral troops, occasioned such disorder in the house, that, for a few minutes, it could be compared to nothing but a tumultuous polish diet; and no one could tell

* The king.

† Lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal; according to the printed Debates it was on the 18th.

tell how much farther the resemblance might have been carried, had not the speaker seasonably interposed his authority, and calmed the house*.

According to an able judge†, who was present at the debate, Mr. Walpole enlarged better than any other person upon the impossibility of hiring troops in time from other princes, and the consequences which the dismissal of the Hanover forces would produce among the allies, particularly the Dutch. “Such a precipitate step,” he said, “at this juncture, would threaten the dissolution of the alliance, as it would testify a want of union and mutual confidence between the king and his parliament.” He enumerated all the countries which might be supposed capable of supplying us with men, as Denmark, Saxony, Cologne, the Swiss, and displayed strong objections against all of them. In the course of the debate, he hinted at the feuds in the cabinet, by ironically alluding to their union and attachment; he touched upon what he considered as the real cause of the clamour against the Hanoverians, namely, the king’s personal behaviour to them.

He concluded by observing; “Nothing can be more evident, than that, by the discharge of the Hanoverians, there will be an immediate dissolution of alliance; and the consequences of it must as inevitably be the giving France such a superiority as to put it in her power to impose what terms she pleases upon the queen of Hungary, who, being abandoned, must afterwards leave her allies to the mercy of that crown; the consequence of which must be, that when the peace upon the continent is made by the directions and influence of France, exclusive of England, that power, sensible of the opposition made to her by this nation, and out of resentment for the trouble and obstructions to her views, will soon take an opportunity to deliver to us a long list of pretended provocations, and require an extraordinary satisfaction; to which we must submit in a shameful manner, like a province to her, or run the hazard of a war with France and Spain, without the prospect of the least support from any ally whatsoever; and so the war will be translated from the continent to this island, which will become a scene of blood and confusion.”

Mr.

* This incident, which is mentioned in none of the printed Debates, is taken from Lord Hardwicke’s Parliamentary Journal.

† Mr. Yorke.

Mr. Pitt spoke against the question with his usual energy and animation, rather appealing to the passions than to the judgment. He expatiated, with all the force of language, on the indignities offered to the british troops; exaggerated petty incidents and casual occurrences into instances of a studied preference of the hanoverian forces, and contemptuously asked, “Whether other troops were not to be procured in Germany, *that great market of men?*”

Mr. Pelham defended the measure as a british measure. “The consequences,” he said, “would shew, that as the quarrel concerned England alone, and not Hanover, her interests would only be considered, either in prosecuting the war, or concluding peace. Nothing, he confessed, could be so mean or dishonourable in any minister, as to flatter the pride, passions and views of his master, at the expence of the national interests.”

But although the question was negatived by a considerable majority in this and a subsequent debate*, on resuming a question after the report of the committee in both houses; yet the violent protests of the peers, and vehement assertions of opposition in the house of commons, made a deep impression on the public mind. The number of disaffected was either wantonly or malignantly exaggerated, and France encouraged, from the hope of internal feuds, and the co-operation of domestic traitors, to meditate an invasion in favour of the pretender.

Had Sir Robert Walpole and cardinal Fleury now presided at the head of affairs, their pacific systems might have preserved the two countries from the horrors of war. But the violence of party had driven the english minister from the helm, and Fleury had closed his long and valuable life in the 90th year of his age. Mr. Walpole always retained a high respect for the memory of his venerable friend, and imputed any deviation from his pacific system to the characteristic ardour of the french nation.

Soon after the deccase of Fleury, the principal administration of affairs was committed to cardinal Tencin, who, elevated to the purple on the nomination of the pretender, displayed his gratitude by fostering the national animosity against England. The ministers who had served under cardinal Fleury were gradually removed, and Tencin, whose violent dispo-

* In the committee, by 266 against 178. On the report, by 266 against 48.

disposition Mr. Walpole compared with that of lord Carteret *, succeeded in exciting the french cabinet to attempt the restoration of the pretender by invading England.

Eighteen ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, carrying on board 4000 land-forces, appeared suddenly off the Isle of Wight, and, meeting with no english squadron, dispatched orders to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk and the other ports of France, with a full assurance of success †. Several thousand troops actually embarked, and the son of the pretender, with marshal Saxe, who commanded the land forces, came in sight of the english coast; but a sudden storm drove many of the transports on shore, dispersed the others, and frustrated the plan. The french squadron returned to the ports of France, after escaping the english fleet under the command of Sir John Norris, either by singular good fortune, or through the incapacity and dilatory spirit of the admiral.

The danger incurred from this threatened invasion, was almost past before the report was circulated in England; but terror and indignation had an instantaneous effect on the nation at large. Loyal addresses were presented by both houses, the city of London, and the principal towns in Great Britain; and 520 merchants subscribed their names to support public credit, and hazard their lives in defence of his majesty's sacred person and government, and for the security of the Protestant succession. The most vigorous preparations were made throughout the kingdom; the divisions in the cabinet were suspended; the earl of Stair and the duke of Marlborough, conscious that the clamour against the hanoverian troops had encouraged the invasion, set a noble example of loyalty, by tendering their services in any station. Their offers were gratefully accepted, and their example was followed by persons of all ranks; the war against France became popular, and the parliament voted larger supplies ‡ than had perhaps been ever granted before at one period.

In

* "I find," observes Mr. Walpole in a letter to Mr. Yorke, "by the papers, that Amelot, the French secretary of state, is removed, the last remains of cardinal Fleury's pacific disposition, which, I suppose, gives a full career to Tencin's furious and enterprising genius; but as we have a Jehu to match him, I suppose we

have nothing to fear." Cheltenham, May 2, 1744.

† Tindal.

‡ Tindal. 10,000,000*l.* which, according to the comparative value of money, was equivalent to 30,000,000*l.* at present.

In the course of 1743, Mr. Walpole had an opportunity of displaying that personal courage which he possessed in an eminent degree. A motion being made in the house of commons, which he supported, he said to Mr. Chetwynd*, who was standing behind the speaker's chair, "I hope we shall carry this question." Mr. Chetwynd replied, "I hope to see you hanged first." 'You hope to see me hanged first!' rejoined Mr. Walpole, and immediately seized him by the nose. They went out and fought. The account being conveyed to lord Orford, while he was at dinner, he sent his son to make enquiries, who, on coming into the house of commons, found his uncle speaking with the same composure as if nothing had happened to ruffle his temper or endanger his life†. Mr. Chetwynd, however, was wounded, though not mortally.

To this rencontre Mr. Poyntz alludes in a letter to Mr. Walpole; "You will give me leave to take this opportunity of congratulating you on the reputation you have acquired, by your calmness and intrepidity, on a late occasion, of resenting injuries in this way, which our age, and paternal as well as conjugal relation, exempts us from‡."

* Afterwards Viscount Chetwynd.

† From the late Earl of Orford.

‡ Midgham, March 17, 1742-3.

CHAPTER 25.

1744.

Extracts from Mr. Walpole's Letters to Mr. Trevor, the Rev. Mr. Milling, and Mr. Yorke, on the Situation of Domestic and Foreign Affairs.

THE opinion of Mr. Walpole on foreign affairs and domestic politics, at this critical juncture, is fully displayed in his private letters to Mr. Trevor, to the Rev. Mr. Milling, british chaplain at the Hague, and to Mr. Yorke, eldest son of lord chancellor Hardwicke.

Extracts of Letters from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor.

“ Cockpit, March 3, 1743-4. Far from thinking our spirits low in England, I have thought them in general too cool and indifferent upon the intended invasion. Lord Orford and myself have, indeed, shewn more concern than any body on this occasion, not for want of courage and resolution, but from a thorough knowledge of some of our considerable countrymen, and because we do not believe that 7000 English, which is all we can have here complete, to defend this capital and any of the neighbouring counties, according to the place where the French may land, sufficient to beat 15,000 French; where the people may, perhaps, look on, and cry “ Fight dog, fight bear ! ” if they do no worse. Nor do I look upon addresses to carry with them powder and ball; and I see nothing but words stirring in the city for the support of the government, should the French venture to invade us, which I think they will do if not prevented by Sir John Norris, who has now all his squadron in the Downs, although a good deal damaged by the late storm, which saved the Brest squadron.

“ I am impatient for an easterly wind to bring over the 6000 Dutch, and I hope the government will send for as many English from Ostend; and believe me, dear sir, far from thinking this the effect of low spirits, I

look upon it as madness not to take the necessary precautions, which is the least we can do."

" Cockpit, March 28, O. S. 1743-4. As soon as I returned this evening from the house, I met with your envelope of the 6th of March, N. S. and was extremely surprised to find, in the Amsterdam Suite, that I am quoted in the article from London, as having proposed, previously to the consideration of the address from the lords, to enter into an enquiry of the state of our marine; and that my proposition was rejected by a majority of 289 to 123. Surely nothing of that nature could come into my head, especially at so great and critical a juncture; for I look upon such a motion, which, as I remember, was made by one of the opponents, (I think Mr. Waller,) with detestation, as being calculated to put a slur upon the message of intelligence, by the crown, of the intended invasion from France in favour of the pretender, and to clog and defeat the unanimity of our address. There never was a more impudent and ill-grounded lye. I really, my dear friend, wonder you read it with patience, or could entertain the least suspicion of my having been capable of such a thing; for the support of the government, and not opposition to it, has always been, and will ever be my principle, under any administration that his majesty shall think fit to employ."

Mr. Walpole to the Rev. Mr. Milling.

After recommending his eldest son, the present lord Walpole, who then commenced his travels, he proceeds: "The declaration of war by France, against us, will prevent him from going thither; which brings me to the political part of your letter. I am extremely edified to learn that there is so general a good disposition with you to join with us in resisting that formidable, ambitious, and powerful neighbour. God grant us union and strength enough to do it, and crown our successes with a more honourable peace than that of Utrecht, from whence all our difficulties since that time have flowed! As to the invasion, I made no doubt of its being attempted after cardinal Fleury's death, when the old maxims of France should revive, especially if Tencin should have the principal credit in the french councils. I looked upon such an attempt as part of the general scheme of operations, and connected with their enterprises on the continent. They began it so early, hoping that we should not have got together

gether a sufficient fleet to oppose to their Brest squadron, nor a sufficient number of regular troops time enough to resist the body which they should be able to land. As to this last, they would have judged right, had not Providence interposed by a most favourable storm; otherwise they would have got on shore above 14,000 men, when we should not have had together, in one body, above 6000 effective.

“As to the disposition of the people here, I am, in my opinion, persuaded that the old leaven of the High Tories still exists; their principles, in favour of the pretender, will appear as strong as ever upon the first occasion; and the false patriots, in conjunction with the jacobites, who put on the mask of patriotism too, have so poisoned the minds of numbers, otherwise well affected to the government, with notions against the royal family, as having an affection and regard for the interest of Hanover preferably to that of Great Britain, that they have had a very bad effect, and made too many too indifferent for the support of this government. And I may tell you in confidence, that the present administration is, partly from divisions among themselves, and partly from want of capacity, the weakest I ever knew. One*, that is supposed to have the greatest credit with the king, at least in foreign affairs, has no plan, and no other consideration, but to discover what his master desires, and to encourage and pursue that point at all hazards and events. Others, that have better intentions, do not speak their minds, for fear of losing the little credit they have; and are so timid and fearful of disobliging, even the opponents, that they have not courage and sense to do the common and necessary acts for the support of the government; so that the disaffected, from that very reason of the government having not taken up more persons, have the assurance to affirm, and have made thousands believe, that a real invasion, in favour of the pretender and his son, was never so much as intended; although I am persuaded, that, besides the progress made in the embarkation, which Providence so seasonably dispersed, the ministers had the most undoubted intelligence, from the best hands, of the design, even before it was undertaken; and knew not only what you have heard of the emperor’s letter to the pope, but also were acquainted

* Lord Carteret.

acquainted with what had been wrote from Rome to the emperor, acquainting him with that horrid design.

“ But I have troubled you too long with my disagreeable thoughts : France has resolved to declare war, which we must support as well as we can ; and hope our old allies will not desert us. But our chief dependence must be upon the goodness of God, who has so often miraculously delivered this wicked nation, praying to him that he will give us peace in our time, for it is he only,” &c.

Mr. Walpole always entertained the highest esteem and respect for lord chancellor Hardwicke, with whom he had long acted, in the same system of politics, and, after his retreat from public affairs, maintained an occasional correspondence ; but he kept up a constant intercourse of letters with his son Mr. Yorke*, which seems to have commenced at this period. In these private effusions of his heart, he unbosomed himself to his friend, and gave his unbiassed opinion on men and measures. He frequently availed himself of this channel to communicate hints and observations, and to transmit his reflections on the proceedings of the cabinet, with a view to be imparted to the chancellor, and, through him, to the duke of Newcastle, or perhaps to the king.

The first letter which appears in this collection was written from Cheltenham, where he had retired, in consequence of his health, from the duties of parliament.

“ Dear Sir,

Cheltenham, April 9, 1744.

“ Your goodness in following me so far with your kind remembrance, I look upon as a particular mark of that friendship for which I have the greatest esteem, and therefore any token of it must give me a sensible pleasure.

“ Whether the papers, by sending me to Holland, meant it in a jocular or serious manner, I can’t tell ; but sure I am that nothing will ever tempt me to embark in foreign negotiations. I shall content myself with doing my duty in parliament, as long as I am a member ; and indeed I should not have left it, had I thought any thing could possibly occur there of
much

* Afterwards Lord Royston, and on the death of his father, Earl of Hardwicke.

much importance during this session. It is possible that some papers brought into the house may occasion some personal altercations; but as they may arise partly from personal views, I think myself very little concerned in them, which I understand to be laying in claims to oppose the management and conduct of the war. The opponents seem to be now like high-mettled hounds, that give their tongues easily and often, but have not got yet good noses; but, being wanton and lavish, will run away with any, though a wrong scent, without staying till the fox is heated in the chase, and then, and not till then, they should stick close to him.

“The war being reciprocally declared between England and France, we are now the only open and avowed enemies to the whole house of Bourbon. It is indeed a new case, and unavoidable, and which, I would say, was evident to me must have been the case, had not the emperor died, from that forced and necessary (as 'tis called) rupture with Spain; but that, perhaps, you would think me partial to my own prophecies and notions, and it is now to no purpose to look back.

“Our antient allies are indeed, on account of the pragmatic sanction, engaged more or less in the same measures with us, in opposition to those of the house of Bourbon, which makes it a common cause between us and them. But as none of them are, jointly with us, in a direct and declared act of enmity with that house, they are under no obligation about their continuing to act, and not to enter into any negotiations for putting an end to the troubles without a communication and concert with us, which was the case of the two last great wars, and preserved, by a joint alliance, the necessary union of minds and measures during the continuance of them. The tables are now turned, and the application for a stricter and inseparable union lies upon us: our allies, hence, certainly will feel they have a great advantage over us, as I am assured we shall soon see.

“The house of Austria will seem zealous and ready to declare war against France, upon an alliance to be made with us; but then I apprehend the conditions of the alliance, both with respect to the money and quotas to be furnished by us for carrying it on, and to the terms of peace, and with respect to indemnity and future security, will be such as it will be difficult for the most bold and enterprising genius to digest, not to
say

say any thing of the collision of various and incompatible views of some acting under two qualities and capacities*, that will perplex and embarrass the whole, and prevent the forming an uniform plan, either with regard to war or peace.

“The unanimity which the government of the States requires in so momentous a point as that of declaring war, will, I am afraid, furnish time and excuses to those that are against it; such as the zeal they have already shewn in supporting us when invaded, the shutting a door to all possibility of negotiating a peace, and their being deserted at the last war by England, notwithstanding our joint successes and obligations to the contrary. We will, they will say, execute our engagements towards the queen of Hungary; we will support the Protestant succession in England; but why, until we are actually attacked, and our barrier invaded, make things so desperate as to render pacification impracticable, especially if we are not deficient in our efforts to support our respective engagements? They may hope that this will keep the war out of Flanders; and indeed it is possible that it may. For although I was fully persuaded that if the invasion of England had succeeded, (that is, if the storm had not prevented this landing,) the French would, as soon as the season would permit, have attacked some place in Flanders. It is possible now, if they have entirely laid aside all thoughts of an invasion, they may likewise forbear all attempts upon the dutch barrier, in order to keep the States in suspense about the war, and push some bold march, by a concert with the king of Prussia, towards Westphalia, which may possibly distress the general plan of exertions in Germany, and divide the allies more than any other measure whatsoever; though I think it would be more expensive, and might prove, if the allies would understand one another, more hazardous to the French.

“Besides public reasons, there are often latent and silent causes that have a greater influence on the mind; such as divisions among the governing and governed, and particularly of the first among themselves, who, instead of being united, watch the opinion of each other in order to oppose it. So that the struggle for power deprives the government of all power whatsoever to act what is right for the public; and the masters

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* Alluding to the King as elector.

can never be well advised, when flattery, to maintain credit, advises nothing but what is pleasing on one side, and there is not courage enough on the other side to contradict it, for fear of displeasing. These things are as well known in Holland as in England, and will have their influence in deliberations. Count N——w, a few days before he went away, shewed me, in a visit he made me, that he was as fully acquainted with these matters as any one at St. James's; and therefore, while we blame the Dutch for their backwardness in a course in which they are as much or more concerned than we are, perhaps, if decency would let them speak out, they would shew that what we blame in them proceeds from causes among ourselves. However, I am persuaded the well intentioned there will do their best to check the dangerous and ambitious views of France."

CHAPTER 26.

1744—1745.

Struggles in the Cabinet between Lord Granville and the Pelhams—Ineffectual Attempts of Granville to gain the Tories and the Whigs of the Walpole Party—His Dismission extorted from the King—Review of his Character and Measures—Letters from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor.

THE events of this year verified the apprehensions of Mr. Walpole. In the beginning of the campaign, the french arms made a rapid progress; fortified places either submitted at the first summons, or were insignificantly defended; and the passage of the Rhine, by prince Charles of Lorrain, alone retarded the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands. By this division the allies became greatly superior in numbers; but, from want of money, could not improve this advantage. The success of prince Charles excited the natural pride of the austrian cabinet to menace the king of Prussia, who, by the remittance of 100,000*l.* from France, was prompted to re-commence hostilities.

In addition to these misfortunes, the feuds in the cabinet, which had experienced a temporary suspension by the dread of an invasion, broke out with increasing acrimony; and the dismission of lord Carteret, or the resignation of the Pelhams, became indispensable. Such was the mutual antipathy of the rival ministers, and the jealousy of Newcastle, that Mr. Walpole observes, in a letter to Mr. Trevor, February 27, 1744, “ I take the liberty to hint to you, (but in the greatest confidence and assurance of secrecy,) that the duke of Newcastle is not perfectly well pleased with you; and I am persuaded that the reason is, because, I am told, your dispatches are full of flattery to lord Carteret. For you must know, that, notwithstanding the common danger, they are, if possible, greater enemies than ever; and that appears in all the deliberations
in

in council, at this great and critical juncture. The truth is, his grace is generally not much esteemed, and his lordship is generally, I am afraid, hated, not to say worse*."

Lord

* The manly reply of Mr. Trevor, which does honour to his independent spirit, deserves to be laid before the reader.

"Hague, March 20, 1744. In this place I may confess to you, that I look upon the king's old servants to be what constitutes the strength of his government, and I am not a little proud of being able to consider myself as an élève of that school. As to certain vicissitudes which have since happened, I can with truth assure you, that my new master has rather coincided with me, than I with him. The first *tertium* that we agreed in was our opposition to the hanoverian, or rather hessian scheme of neutrality, submission or even co-operation with the emperor's party; and whatever unpopular suspicions the person in question has since given occasion for, I cannot but bear testimony that he set out like a minister who proposed to *serve*, rather than *please* his master; nor have I ever yet received any political commands from him, but what I, in my own conscience, approved. I have not, indeed, attributed any personal merit to him on this last account, understanding the same to have been the joint result of the administration; but, however, it has been a great pleasure to me, to see that a change of men has wrought so small a change of measures.

"As to any personal intimacy or friendship with his lordship, I have had no opportunity of contracting either. In his two last passages through the Hague, he neither ate nor drank with me, nor had I half an hour's discourse with him. Pleasures, you may easily imagine, I have not had it in my power to do him any worth speaking of; nor have I ever asked any of him, that he has procured me.

He was, indeed, pleased to notify to me my brother's promotion, and to add expressions of his satisfaction therein, so that I could not but return him a suitable compliment on the occasion; and *that* is the only one, his colleague will have found in all my relations, that regarded his person. As to any thing I may have had occasion to say in praise of orders given, measures taken, &c. it ought to be understood to relate to the whole ministry; and I am sure I never aimed or intended to point out any contradistinction. It is very hard that great men cannot quarrel without forcing us little ones to take a part; but I hope both his grace, and especially his brother, are too equitable, and too much my friends, to be angry with me for keeping upon comfortable terms with my immediate superior officer.

"Possibly his grace's present displeasure may have taken its rise from my declining to serve for Lewes. The reasons I alledged to him, and to Mr. Harry Pelham, for so doing, were more than sufficient to satisfy any candid person. My present circumstances will not allow me to hurry backwards and forwards between London and the Hague; nor will this residence dispense with my absence for a fortnight. You are yourself, I am persuaded, convinced that I have happened to be as serviceable to my king and country here of late, as I could have been with my attendance and vote at Westminster. Besides, *entre nous*, all other impediments apart, what a task must I have had to have steered inoffensively between my Sussex patron and my Hague principal.

"This is a true description of myself and circumstances; but as I would not only be innocent, but unsuspected too, pray do what may

Lord Orford, disgusted with these broils, which he had in vain attempted to allay, retired to Houghton*, and even as early as the spring expectations were formed of an approaching rupture in the ministry. At this time a curious conversation passed between the duke of Newcastle and lord Carteret, of which I shall give his own relation to his friend the chancellor.

“ My Lord,

Newcastle-house, June 6, 1744.

“ I have the pleasure to tell you, that our master gave up, yesterday, the saxon treaty, very coolly and very easily ; he said only, that we should repent it when it was too late : in other respects he seemed in good humour. I had a very extraordinary conversation with my lord Carteret, going with him yesterday to Kensington ; which, with the late incidents that

properly and naturally fall in your way to set me right in the duke's opinion, and especially in his brother's, if necessary, as nothing could be more sensible to me than the loss of the latter, which I have studiously endeavoured to procure and cultivate on all occasions ; and sometimes even, as I have had the satisfaction to think, with some success.

“ In point of obligations, I know to what quarter my brother is chiefly beholden for the *commendam* of his canonry ; and I wait with impatience for some unaffected handle to express my thankfulness for that good office to my Sussex (I hope I may still say) friends.

“ You'll have seen, by the two last posts, that the young Chevalier is like to inherit nothing of his ancestors but their ill luck. The enterprise is certainly postponed for the present ; but, as the french court has now discovered how sore and tender we are in this place, I do expect she will give us a *quietus* all this campaign ; but keep holding the young man upon her fist, &c. I should, I own, with submission to better judgments, think myself safe enough with the parliamentary powers now lodged with the king, and with the additional strength of 6000 good

honest dutch infantry, without farther weakening Flanders, or, in other terms, the common cause upon the continent. But I have felt enough the pulse at home, not to dare even to relate the remonstrances that the pensionary has already made me upon the motions of some of our troops in Flanders towards the sea coast. The greffier himself thinks the place France really levels her blow at is Flanders ; and there are not wanting people here, who begin to talk of recalling the very succour, if we weaken the army in the Netherlands. You see I talk to you with my old liberty and ingenuousness, and don't question your hearing me with your old candour ; so burn away, and believe me, &c.”

* “ My father,” writes Horace Walpole, late earl of Orford, to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, “ was the day before yesterday not quite well of his gravel ; but impatient to be clear of the absurdities and broils which he in vain endeavoured to compose and remedy. The world expects some great crack in the ministry every day. I care not ; it cannot be worse ; I don't see how it is likely to mend.” Arington Street, June 26, 1744.

that have passed between us, produced a more extraordinary declaration from him to my brother and me last night. He said, that if my lord Harrington had not been gone, he intended to have spoke very fully to us ; that he would do it when your lordship, lord Harrington, and we should be together ; that things could not remain as they were ; that they must be brought to some precision ; he would not be brought down to be overruled and out-voted upon every point, by four to one : if we would take the government upon us, we might ; but, if we could not, or would not undertake it, there must be some direction, and he would do it. Much was said upon what had passed last year, upon the probability of the king going abroad, &c. Every thing passed coolly and civilly, but pretty resolutely, on both sides. At last, he seemed to return to his usual professions and submission.

“ Upon this,” adds the duke, “ my brother and I thought it absolutely necessary that we should immediately determine amongst ourselves what party to take ; and he has therefore desired me to see your lordship, and talk it over with you in the course of this day. We both look upon it, that either my lord Carteret will go out, (which I hardly think is his scheme, or at least his inclination,) or that he will be uncontrollable master. My brother supposes, that, in that case, he means that we should go out. I rather think he may still flatter himself, that (after having had this offer made to us, and our having declined to take the government upon ourselves,) we shall be contented to act a subordinate part. Upon the whole, I think the event must be, that we must either take upon us the government, or go out.”

Some unknown circumstances delayed the final settlement of this contest ; but mutual jealousies still subsisted, and in September the duke enforced to lord Hardwicke the necessity of removing lord Carteret.

“ My opinion,” he says, “ is always the same ; that the only means to act effectually for the public, and honourable for ourselves, is to remove the cause, and the author of all these misfortunes, or to continue no longer ourselves, since we should in some measure be answerable for the general conduct of the ministry, though we should not be in a condition to direct affairs according to our own opinion and judgment. In the first case, we should carry on the war, or put an end to it, as we should think

think it best. In the other, we should be answerable for nothing. This way of thinking is not agreeable to the sentiments of our other friends. They would like better to put it upon *measures*. If by that they mean the *conduct of the war*, I agree with them. If they mean the war itself, I think that neither honourable nor just for us who have all concurred in the measure, and some of whom are still of opinion, that, if rightly conducted, it would have ended well. But that which I most fear is, that this difference of opinion, this uneasiness *in*, this indecision with regard to going out, will draw us on this session, as it did the last, blaming, cavilling, but still going on, and awkwardly *supporting*; to prevent which, I depend upon your friendship and weight in our deliberations*.”

In consequence of the ill success of the campaign, and the luke-warmness of the Dutch, the altercations were renewed with redoubled violence. The king warmly supported lord Carteret, of whose skill in foreign affairs, and the management of the war, he entertained the highest opinion.

Lord Carteret, who at this period succeeded to the title of earl Granville on the death of his mother†, was conscious of support, and did not abandon the helm without extreme reluctance. He attempted, at one time, through the means of the prince of Wales, to effect a coalition with the Tories, and at another to conciliate the Walpole party among the Whigs, by the intervention of the earl of Orford. His unsuccessful application to the leaders of opposition, through the medium of the prince of Wales, is mentioned in the late lord Hardwicke's parliamentary journal.

“ His royal highness, who unfortunately had no point of union with his father, but a fondness for Hanover, and an attachment to lord Granville, first offered himself as a mediator between the contending parties in the ministry; when that did not succeed, he set on foot a negotiation with the other side, by a message to Chesterfield, Gower, and Cobham, to this effect: ‘ That as the differences in the administration were grown to that height, through the unreasonableness of Granville's enemies, some changes must necessarily ensue; if they and their friends would come in, and

* Newcastle-house, Sept. 14, 1744.

† Lady Grace, daughter of John Granville earl of Bath, who dying without issue male, his daughter was created countess of Granville.

She died in October. For the character of lord Carteret, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 24.

and support the said earl, a general removal should be made of the old court, and the whole broad-bottom, as it was called, provided for without reserve.' This overture was seconded by a message from Granville himself, and hopes were thrown out to the Tories of a dissolution of the parliament; but to no purpose, for the persons applied to having already received overtures from the Pelhams, returned a short answer, that they could not think of accepting any terms whilst Granville continued in power."

Having failed in obtaining a coalition with the Tories and Opposition Whigs, Granville next exerted his efforts to secure the Whigs of the Walpole party. The king entering warmly into his schemes, on the 7th of November summoned into the closet earl Cholmondeley, son-in-law of lord Orford, who had been recently promoted to the privy seal, on the resignation of lord Gower. After highly commending lord Orford's conduct, particularly his service in regard to the continuance of the Hanover troops, his majesty expressed his desire, that he would repair to town a week or ten days before the meeting of parliament. "The experience," said the king, "I have for so many years had of his lordship's zeal for my service, and his consummate judgment in the domestic affairs of my kingdom, induce me to request his attendance in the present dangerous and disturbed situation of Europe, when England is under the necessity of taking so large a share in the support and conduct of the common cause; knowing the real weight of his opinion and influence with numbers in both houses of parliament, when such nice and important points are proposed for their deliberation and advice."

The ex-minister, though scarcely recovered from a fit of the stone, expressed his resolution to obey the commands of the king; at the same time he frankly censured the conduct of foreign affairs, and declined any immediate interposition in favour of lord Granville. In his answer to lord Cholmondeley he writes, "I will set out for London with all the expedition I can; and am heartily sorry to see his majesty's affairs reduced to such extremities. It has been a long time easy to foresee the unavoidable, and almost insurmountable, difficulties that would attend the present system of politics. I wish to God it was as easy to show the way out of them! But be assured that I will, in every thing, to the utmost of my power,

power, consult and contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the king and kingdom. * * * * *

“I hope, by lying still and quiet a week longer, I shall be able to undertake a London journey, and, by care and management, to perform it so as to get to town several days before the meeting of parliament will be finally adjusted and settled at court; till that is done, I can be of no use or service, in recommending the measures, to such as may have a regard for my opinion*.”

Mr. Walpole, to whom his brother transmitted his own and lord Cholmondeley's letter, for his information and advice, made some sensible remarks on the contests in the cabinet.

“The circumstances and contents of the letter you received from lord Cholmondeley, by express, evidently show that it was first concerted by the influence of Carteret with the king, then settled and dispatched between his lordship and lord Cholmondeley alone, all entirely without the privity and knowledge of the Pelhams; that there has been a contest in the closet about the conduct of the approaching session; and that Carteret's opinion for supporting with vigour the present war prevails. I was convinced, by some observations on Mr. Pelham's behaviour before I left the town, that either want of resolution or capacity in his great and difficult station, or both, inclined him to wish an end to the present troubles abroad at any rate. His intimation, by Mr. Selwin, to you to stay in the country, and the language the speaker is said to hold lately, (who is in Pelham's confidence,) that we should wrap ourselves up within ourselves, has strengthened that opinion; and the inclosed letter of the 3d instant, from the duke of Newcastle, in answer to one I had wrote to him about the sicilian abbot, induces me to believe, that his hatred to Carteret has even made his grace fall from his glorious notions, of making a figure abroad, into his brother's way of thinking. * * * * *

“Your lordship's answer to lord Cholmondeley, (for the sight of which I return you my thanks,) is, in my opinion, as proper and prudent, considering your station, as could be. But the wipe you give to the present system of politics, and your avoiding to enter into any previous consultation of measures, will make Carteret perceive that you decline having any

any thing to do with him. However, your strong expressions of zeal and attachment to his majesty and his service, must obviate any ill impression he may endeavour to make upon the king to your prejudice."

In another letter he expresses his opinion that the contest at court related to a change of men, and not of measures, and that his brother's interference would be hazardous and embarrassing; and recommends him to defer his journey, on account of his indisposition*. But lord Orford, preferring his duty to the king to all other considerations, undertook the fatal journey to London, which hastened his dissolution.

During this interval the die was cast, and the dismissal of the favourite minister extorted from the king. At the instance of the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, the lord chancellor drew up a strong memorial, representing the ill conduct of foreign affairs, and the necessity of adopting a new system of politics. This memorial, written with great spirit and perspicuity, being highly approved by the Pelhams and lord Harrington, was communicated to the dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Argyle† and Montague, who engaged to support the measures it recommended. It was presented by the chancellor to the king on the 31st of October, who returned it in a few hours, without any observation. But the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and lord Hardwicke enforced the arguments of the memorial in private audiences, and urged the necessity of dismissing lord Granville. The extreme reluctance with which the king acceded to the importunities of his cabinet, and the views of the Pelhams, will appear from a letter written by the duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke on the 3d of November :

" My brother will acquaint you with what passed yesterday in the closet, where he supported our paper with all the firmness and judgment imaginable. The effect produced was, *sullenness, ill-humour, fear* : a disposition to acquiesce, if it could be done with lord Granville's approbation ; for that is the whole. This appeared plainly by the king's *looks*, and discourse to lord Granville and me together. He addressed himself to lord G. : ' It is time to think of a speech ; we must speak plainly, and

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 605, also ch. 62.

† Archibald, duke of Argyle, who succeeded

to the title, on the death of his brother John, the preceding year.

and lay the whole before the parliament.' Lord G. : ' Two days will do that.' ' No, my lord ; this speech may require much alteration ; we can add good news if it comes at any time ; but we must ask the support of the parliament.' The king went on : ' My lord, you *should* write to Holland ; we must know what the Dutch would do.' ' Sire, I have done it already ; if it is right to insist on declaring war, I believe your majesty must write another letter yourself.' I said little, got out of the closet as soon as I could ; but, you may imagine, approved certain parts of his majesty's discourse.

" He afterwards sent for lord G. alone ; he staid about five minutes ; said nothing to us afterwards of what had passed. The audience was so short, I suppose the fact only was told, probably with assurances of his support, and recommending management and some compliance to lord Granville. I conclude this day the scheme of conduct will be settled between the king and lord Granville, which will, I believe, be what I always foresaw : a seeming acquiescence, depending upon lord Granville's *sçavoir* to defeat it afterwards, and draw us on. This is what I most dread ; and I own I think nothing will prevent it but a concert *entamé*, in a proper manner, directly with lord Chesterfield. I have now deliver'd the paper in the manner you all like ; my brother has well supported it ; you will be so good as to do it to-morrow or Monday, and I beg you will explain it to the king ; but firmness is beyond all argument. Lord Harrington must soon follow, and I think the duke of Dorset, and the duke of Argyle : the first, I am persuaded, will. I wish you would let me know, by a line on Monday morning, what has passed, that I may hold the same language with the king*."

In the audience of the chancellor, who had the principal share in this intrigue, the king expressed an uncommon degree of esteem for lord Granville, and repeatedly exclaimed, with no less dignity than warmth, " You would persuade me to abandon my allies ; that shall never be the obloquy of my reign, as it was of queen Anne's ; I will suffer any extremities rather than consent*."

During this state of suspense the session of parliament drew near, and the public mind was highly agitated. Lord Granville was extremely unpopular ; he was unjustly considered as the sole cause of the unsuccessful

* Hardwicke Papers,

cessful campaign in Germany, of the inactivity of the Dutch, and of the renewal of hostilities by the king of Prussia; even the prolongation of the war was imputed to his counsels.

The king made a final effort to protract the fall of his favourite minister; he ordered the predominant party in the cabinet to draw up his speech, that he might judge, from the contents, whether he approved the measures they proposed. In obedience to his commands, the chancellor submitted a draught to the king, who returned it in the next audience, transcribed from the beginning to the end in his own hand, with some additions, probably suggested by Granville. But on the remonstrances of the Pelham party, the king consented to omit the most important of these additions, which declared that he would agree to no peace till all his allies had been satisfied*.

This was the prelude to the fall of the minister. The king, unable to conciliate the cabinet, and finding all parties united against him, was compelled to acquiesce, and on the 23d of November testified his resolution to the chancellor that lord Granville should resign, which he did on the following day. "Thus," to use the expressions of the late earl of Hardwicke, "this hunted minister, at present an outcast from all parties, was obliged to resign, having first laid the foundation of future merit and favour †, by giving assurances that himself and his friends would heartily concur in supporting the war, and even outgo the ministers on that head. The seals were given to lord Harrington, who had acted in a perfect concurrence with the chancellor and his friends during this transaction, whose experience in foreign affairs was useful in business, at the same time that his person was very acceptable in the closet."

On the resignation of Granville, the views of the Pelhams were developed. During the recent struggle for power, they had gained the lead-
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* Letter from the duke of Newcastle.—
Hardwicke Papers.

† Lord Granville always retained the personal favour of the king; and Mr. Fox, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, compares his situation at the present period, to that of Harley on his compulsory resignation.—
"When you read Cook, I think in 1708, when lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough

would not come to council with Harley, who went out, and was higher with the queen for that time, and, from the cause of his disgrace, never had her affection and opinion more strongly than at the instant he was forced to quit her service as secretary, you will hear something will put you in mind of this by next post."—Hanbury Papers.

ers of opposition, and arranged a new administration, which was ludicrously called the *Broad Bottom*, because it indiscriminately admitted the Whigs and Tories into power, on a broad and general basis, without distinction of party. They gained lord Cobham, and his strong parliamentary phalanx, by promoting him to the sixth regiment of horse, by placing Mr. Lyttleton and Mr. George Grenville at the boards of treasury and admiralty, and by promising to introduce Mr. Pitt into office, as soon as the king's prejudice against him, on account of his parliamentary conduct, could be removed. The duke of Bedford was made first lord of the admiralty, and gratified with the appointment of his friend the earl of Sandwich to a place at the same board. The Tories were conciliated by the nomination of earl Gower to the office of lord privy seal, and of Mr. Dodington to the post of treasurer to the navy: even Sir John Hynde Cotton* and Sir John Philips accepted the places of treasurer of the chamber and lord of trade. The duke of Devonshire was nominated lord steward of the household, in the room of the duke of Dorset, who was made president of the council; lord Middlesex and Mr. Fox were appointed lords of the treasury, Waller cofferer of the household, and lord Chester-

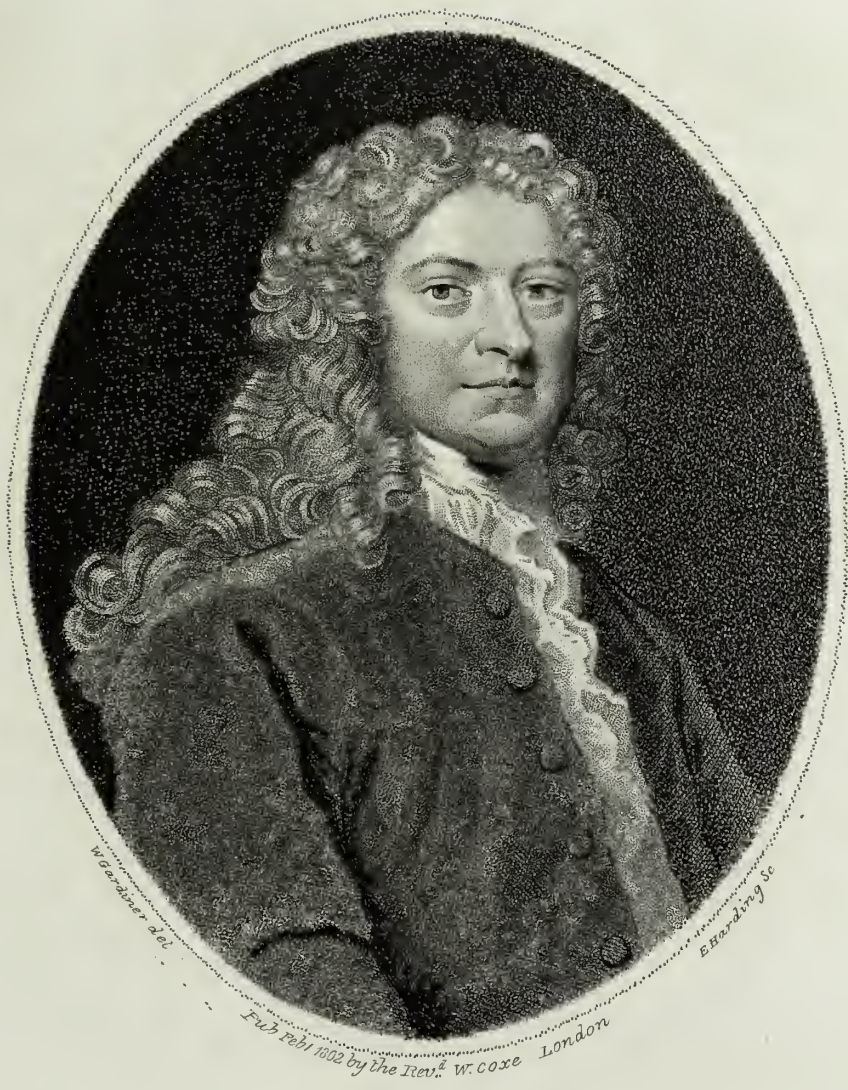
* Sir John Hynde Cotton was descended from an antient family, who were said to have taken their surname from Cotton, a manor in Cambridgeshire, and were afterwards seated at Landwade and Maddingley-hall in the same county. His grandfather, Sir John Cotton, was created a baronet in the 17th of Charles the First.

Sir John Hynde Cotton was member of parliament, in the reign of queen Anne, for the town of Cambridge, and afterwards represented the county in several parliaments of George the First. He was lord commissioner of trade and plantations in the reign of queen Anne; but, under the succeeding sovereign, was excluded from all offices of government, on account of his known attachment to the house of Stuart. He was a man of high integrity, and, notwithstanding his decided opposition, was much respected by Sir Robert Walpole. He was a

fluent and able speaker, and was equally distinguished for his solid understanding and brilliant wit. He was zealous and active in promoting the schemes of his party, and made an annual progress throughout England to maintain the spirit of his friends, and rally the partisans of opposition.

The accession of a man of his character and principles was a great acquisition to government; but the king was extremely averse to his appointment, particularly to the office of treasurer of the chambers, which gave constant access to his person. From this repugnance of the sovereign, a caricature print represented the Broad Bottom Administration as thrusting Sir John Hynde Cotton, who was extremely corpulent, down the king's throat.

Being afterwards disgusted, he resigned his office, and died in 1752.—See Kimber and Johnson's and Betham's *Baronetages*.



SIR JOHN HYNDE COTTON

From an Original at Madingley

Chesterfield, after much reluctance on the part of the king, was constituted ambassador to the Hague, with the lieutenancy of Ireland.

The extreme popularity occasioned by the removal of lord Granville, whose administration was reproachfully called the Drunken Administration, and the coalition of parties, ensured support and tranquillity to the cabinet. The principal speakers in both houses being ranged on the side of the ministry, the session, which continued from the 22d of November to the 2d of May, was scarcely distinguished by a single division, and is only mentioned in the annals of Great Britain for the proceedings relative to the conduct of admirals Matthews and Lestock, for an insignificant debate on a motion for annual parliaments, and for a supply of 6,000,000*l*.

The character and conduct of earl Granville were much misrepresented by party prejudice. He was a man of great talents, of profound and elegant learning, skilled in the knowledge of several languages, of commanding deportment, and, when he pleased, of affable and conciliating manners. But he was unfortunately too much addicted to conviviality, and, when heated with wine, was overbearing, impetuous, and insulting. He entertained a mean notion of the duke of Newcastle's talents and capacity; proud of the king's favour, and conscious of his superior eloquence, he indignantly brooked the preponderance of the Pelhams in parliament, yet did not condescend to exert his powers in forming a party of his own. Hence Mr. Winnington not unaptly remarked, "Had lord Granville studied Parliament more, and Demosthenes less, he would have been a more successful minister."

In regard to the imputation of subservience to hanoverian politics, stigmatised by the duke of Newcastle as "abominable courtly measures," and to the ill conduct of foreign affairs, his partisans might have urged, that though his private demeanour towards the other ministers was justly censurable, yet his public system did not deserve that obloquy which was cast upon it, both by the ministers and the opposition. For, without entering into the complicated question of the utility or prejudice of continental connections, we may observe, he had no sooner resigned, than the same measures were pursued with equal obstinacy, though with less vigour. The Hanoverians and Hessians were dismissed from the british
service;

service; but the queen of Hungary was largely subsidised, and took the same troops into her pay. The only difference was, that, in the first instance, the troops were paid by british money *directly*, and in the second indirectly, through the queen of Hungary; and as the popular clamour against the Hanoverians subsided, 18,000 were taken into british pay in 1746, and the new parliament, which met in November the following year, voted 22,000.

It is but justice to the character and conduct of this great but "hunted" statesman, to insert a note written by the late earl of Hardwicke, at the bottom of one of the duke of Newcastle's most violent letters to the chancellor, against hanoverian influence, and containing a bitter invective of lord Granville; a note which reflects great honour on the candour and liberality of the son of that minister, who principally contributed to the removal of Granville. "No doubt lord Granville was an overbearing presumptuous minister, and made his great court to the king upon his german points. In the Dettingen campaign, either through his own or his master's fault, he managed but awkwardly; but truth obliges me to say, that the war was not better conducted on the continent after he was turned out, nor did lord Chesterfield bring the Dutch up to our propositions; and the duke of Newcastle himself, under the wing of a military prince of the blood, grew as fond of the war abroad as lord Granville himself. His brother and he almost came to a rupture about it in 1747 and 1748."

Mr. Walpole took no active part in the intrigue for the removal of lord Granville, but transmitted an account of what was passing, in several confidential letters to Mr. Trevor*:

"December 14, 1744, O. S. When the ministry here will be settled, God knows; there is such a calm in appearance, then the business in parliament goes on, in a manner, without a house. This suspension of arms there, does certainly import a negotiation; but the treaty advances slowly: the full powers are not signed, and the ratification of the preliminaries are settled with mutual difficulties and delays. However, this stagnation of government, for that is the case at present, so destructive to the foreign and domestic affairs, cannot last long; in the mean time the French are taking winter-quarters, &c. * * * * *

"It

* Hampden Papers.

“ It will be impossible to get a good peace, without shewing France you are in a condition to make war.”

“ Cockpit, Dec. 21, 1744, O. S. The removal of the great man here, has, I am told, not been very disagreeable where you are. His parts and eloquence were indeed very great ; but his own vanity, and contempt of his fellow servants, without, at the same time, having any plan to carry on a war, which he loudly cried out for, and publicly professed to do at any rate or expence, though ever so extravagant, (persuading himself that gaining the good-will in the closet would be an invincible support,) without the least regard to parliament, persons, or things without doors, were the greatest indication of madness, folly, or something worse, that ever possessed the weakest of men.

“ Since his removal from place, but not from royal affection, there has indeed been a great calm in the assembly most liable to storms, in order to give time for negotiating a coalition with the opposition of different connexions, a strange motley system, but made in a manner necessary ; and puts me in mind of the case of the house of Austria, who formerly supported herself with a steady, firm, and well disciplined body of regular troops ; but in the beginning of this war, for want of that support, has been obliged to take to her aid pandours, croates, and insurgents.

“ If this coalition takes place, few people will wonder how those that are removed came to be turned out ; but most will be intersted to see what successors they are like to have. But last night I was told, that the terms of the accessors are so high and extravagant, that the accession is like to fail. If this proves the case, we shall be again at sea, and find more tempestuous weather in Westminster than has sprung up a great while. God preserve the vessel ! for she is like to be adrift ; exposed to greater domestick storms than ever, without proper persons to hand the sails or steer the helm.”

“ Cockpit, Dec. 28, 1744. You will have had from the office an account of the alterations ; the various motions and different terms in making them are too voluminous for a letter, and I don't pretend to be so much in the secret as to give a just account of them ; but the state of the case in general is, I think, as follows :

“ The great ascendant lord Granville had got in the closet, and the great

great contempt with which he treated all his fellow servants, in neither concerting nor communicating any measures to them, made them take a resolution, one and all, except lord Cholmondeley, not to act with him any longer. His lordship, not being able to form a party to himself, (having been absolutely rejected by the opponent patriots,) nor to shew the king how he should be able to carry on the business at this exigency without the other great men in place, laid his majesty under the necessity of removing lord Granville, and at the same time the rest of the ministers, under the necessity of negotiating with what is called the Broad Bottom, that is, the remaining patriots in opposition, with some Tories. It is said several Tories, knights of the shires, were offered places by the mediation of lord Gower; but that, serving for jacobite counties, they could not hazard a new election; and therefore declined the acceptance of them, of which they have since made a merit with their party in having refused to come in. This made room for more of the patriot kind. But the great Mr. Pitt, having insisted upon being secretary at war, and the king not agreeing to remove Sir William Yonge, he declined taking any thing; but 'tis said has promised to support their measures. Whether the desire of making a still greater and more popular figure in the house will not tempt him to break his word, time must shew.

“ In short, few are displeased at those that were removed, and as few are pleased with those that are to come in their rooms. The Whigs grumble that there are so many new faces; and the Tories grumble that there are no more of their sort; and yet I don't doubt but this session will go on quietly enough, so far as relates to foreign affairs. The Whigs will be persuaded to support the whole machine, for fear of something worse; and the Tories, having in a manner no head, will I think at least slacken their opposition, or be absent, on account of some distant hopes, in which they may, at least I hope they may, be disappointed. * * *

“ Lord Chesterfield, I suppose you will have heard before this time, takes a turn to Holland before he goes to Ireland, that he may bring the Dutch to a greater proportion of efforts, or have from them sufficient reasons for not doing so. I dare say he will not be able to do more than you could do; but it may not be amiss that he should be charged with the load of justifying their not doing it. I wish, when our old friends
compliment

compliment him on coming into administration, they would civilly make him feel their surprise at his having been so long in the opposition ; for he had been very industrious, while he was in it, to say that our family had no credit with the Dutch."

Although Mr. Walpole adopted the current opinion against the administration of lord Granville, he was not actuated by party motives, or any predilection to the Pelhams ; for when the duke of Newcastle pursued the same system of foreign affairs as his predecessor, Mr. Walpole arraigned his conduct with equal freedom, and even importuned him with repeated remonstrances. Neither his friendship for Mr. Pelham, or his high respect for the chancellor, induced him to conceal his sentiments, or withhold his exhortations.

CHAPTER 27.

1745.

Sketch of Domestic and Foreign Affairs—Rapid Progress of the Rebels—Weak and Divided Efforts of the Ministry—Letters from Mr. Pelham and Mr. Fox—Correspondence of Mr. Walpole.

THE sanguine expectations of the people, that the change of ministers would introduce a more favourable system of affairs, were soon disappointed. The attempts to stimulate the dutch republic to more vigorous exertions failed of success; and the embassy of lord Chesterfield, from which wonders were expected, produced little effect. The discordant interests and views of the coalesced powers, the haughtiness and obstinacy of the austrian court, the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch, and the inefficient measures pursued by the english cabinet, were unequal to the vigour and promptitude of the French and Prussians.

The events of 1745 were equally disastrous both at home and abroad. The powers allied against the house of Bourbon and Prussia were defeated in Germany and Italy; the fatal battle of Fontenoy secured to the French the conquest of the greater part of the Netherlands, and these misfortunes were only counter-balanced on the continent by the elevation of Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, to the imperial throne, and the peace of Dresden, which detached Prussia from France. At sea the naval exertions were, as usual, spirited and successful; and the important capture of Louisbourg signalised the british arms in America.

At home, a rebellion broke out in Scotland, where the young pretender landed in the month of June, and was joined by the highland clans. After totally defeating Sir John Cope at the battle of Preston Pans, he took possession of Edinburgh, and rapidly advanced into the northern provinces of England. Scotland was unprotected by troops, and even England
scantily

scantily provided; the king was in Germany, the duke of Cumberland at the head of the british army in Flanders, and the ministry, divided and distracted, were incapable of adopting instant and decisive measures.

This alarming situation of public affairs, and the weak state of the cabinet, are fully displayed in some private letters written by Mr. Pelham and Mr. Fox:

Mr. Pelham to Archibald duke of Argyle *.

“ My Lord,

August 20, 1745.

“ I had a letter from general Cope, who I am sorry to see in such distress and perplexity; your advice is great comfort to him; but as he is not likely to have the benefit of that long, I own I am in pain for him. I have endeavoured to keep up his spirits as well as I can. I am not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as I am fearful of the inability or languidness of our friends. I see the contagion spreads in all parts; and if your grace was here, you would scarce in common conversation meet with one man who thinks there is any danger from, scarce truth, in an invasion at this time. For my part, I have long dreaded it, and am now as much convinced as my late friend lord Orford was, that this country will be fought for some time before this year is over. Be that as it will, we must do our best; but nothing can go on right till the government has a head, which I hope it will not long be without; for lord Harrington was to set out from Hanover last Friday, and the king intended to follow him in a very few days.

“ Ostend, you see in the newspapers, has capitulated; the garrison is saved; but, to our great surprise, the duke sent lord Crawford and Jack Mordaunt thither, with orders *rather* to carry the troops to Flushing than England. We immediately sent to Flushing to stop their going from thence to the army in Flanders, and this day have sent positive orders to four regiments to come here, to the river; and the fifth, being the scotch fusileers, commanded by Jack Campbell, is ordered to Scotland, to strengthen Sir John Cope's army, and to recruit itself in that country. I don't doubt but your grace will approve of this exertion of power in the lords' justices; it is the only instance which we have exerted to any real

* Campbell Papers.

real use. Lord Tweedale tells me there are no warrants directed from hence for the seizing any one, except lord Perth; a general recommendation both to the advocate and justice-clerk to issue warrants against any persons that they shall have reason to suspect, is all he knows of. What the truth is, of this, I can't pretend to say.

"Other public affairs remain *in statu quo*; when the king comes, every thing will and must unveil itself. These are not times for doubts; and, if I see right, our master will be of the same opinion. How he will determine, time will shew."

Extracts of Letters from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.*

"Sept. 5, 1745. The rebels are got 24 miles on this side Cope, and are in full march to Edinburgh, or still farther south. There are four men of war and 30 transports at Dunkirk. No account of the Ferrol, or part of the Brest squadron. This news has at length forced the sending for ten battalions of English, which were sent for, by express, last night: a counsel that has prevailed with the greatest difficulty, and is blamed by Granville, as it was opposed by lord Tweedale. The latter did not, ten days ago, believe the pretender's son in Scotland; and the duke of Argyle left it because he was there, as the duke of Athol has his house and estate and clan to his elder brother, and is set out for Edinburgh, on a message from lord Tullibarden†, to get dinner, &c. ready for him by such a day. England, Wade says, (and I believe,) is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch, and the ten battalions of English, or 5000 French or Spaniards, will be here first, you know our fate."

"Sept. 19, 1745. The rebels advance towards England, having passed the Frith above Stirling. Three battalions of Dutch (landed yesterday) began their march on Saturday for Lancashire. They are to be joined by the few English troops, quartered near their march, and are commanded by Wentworth. On Monday last none of lord Tweedale's friends, or rather none of the Scotch, would believe this; but called them rabble, and it was a farce. As they are by this time, perhaps, as I hope, plundering and burning Tweedale's estates and houses, I fancy he will think

* Hanbury Papers.

† The marquis of Tullibarden, who raised the Pretender's standard at Glensinnen, on the 19th of August.

think they might have as well been looked after sooner. Though I hear lord St***** even yesterday opposed sending these Dutch, which Dutch *will not act* against French, if French come. They are not come, God be thanked! and I think now it would be too late. But had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle. * * * * *

“Every domestic matter is such as could not be explained in other than an extreme long letter, and must not be wrote in any. Imagine every thing in confusion; obstinate, angry, determined impracticability throughout; and then know that the parliament is to meet for business the 17th of next month.”

During these unfortunate events, Mr. Walpole resided at Wolterton, afflicted with the recent death of his brother, and brooding over the misfortunes of his country; yet preserving that evenness and tranquillity of mind which had always supported him in the midst of domestic distresses and political storms.

At this critical period, his correspondence with Mr. Yorke and Mr. Milling displays his character in domestic retirement, and his knowledge and foresight as a statesman. In consequence of the unsettled state of the cabinet, and the weakness of their efforts, he predicted the evils which ensued, and anticipated the misfortunes of the campaign. From long experience of the character of the Dutch, and the defects of their government, he was not buoyed up with the hopes of their active co-operation; and he thus expressed his sentiments in a letter to Mr. Yorke:

“Dear Sir,

Wolterton, June 1, 1745*.

“I cannot forbear one word more in behalf of my old friends the Dutch. I do not think, as a nation, that their old spirit and their old politics are wanting; but they are exhausted, and have no executive power: they are like a ship with a good number of men on board, but wants guns, ammunition and steerage. As to their not having a greater proportion of their quota in the field, pray, dear Sir, had we half ours? I have had a whisper, as if the opponents in the States of Holland strongly and loudly complained of our wanting 8000 men, (occasioned, I believe, by the fault of our government, which obliged us, to save the honour of a few Patriots,

to

* Hardwicke Papers.

to discharge the Hanoverians,) and that the pensionary, with a presence of mind and resolution becoming an able minister, justified our behaviour.

“ But I don’t think the great deficiency of numbers in the confederate army is to be attributed to any thing but our having agreed upon our quotas, and concerted our measures, without having made the necessary preparations of ammunition, recruits, &c. until it has been actually time to act; and consequently the enemy, provided with every thing requisite for battle or siege, took the field, with a numerous well-appointed army, at a time that our troops, destitute of all necessities, were scattered up and down in quarters, and wanting officers and men to make them complete, were hurried away to action, and, what is the most desperate action, to oblige the French to raise the siege*; without our taking any precautions, or having any intelligence of the enemy’s situation, strength or disposition. It is very likely that prince Waldeck, a gallant young officer, and perhaps another young prince too, were zealous and warm for attacking the enemy; it became their youth and their birth: but if this was a rash attempt, as I am afraid it was, where was count Königsegg’s experience and prudence as an old officer? There the check and caution should have been; and although I plainly perceived that the duke’s relation was calculated to manage Königsegg, and indeed I think there are good reasons to manage him, I believe, upon enquiry, it would be whispered, that he had not answered the character of generalship expected from him; but that is over, and we must look forward.

“ I lay it down as a principle, that we had better make almost any peace to-morrow, if, after this campaign is over, (and God knows how it will end,) and we are obliged to go on with the war, the parliament is not summoned to meet in October or beginning of November, as was practised in king William’s and lord Marlborough’s time. These two generals never left the Hague, after the end of a campaign, without having concerted with the States the general scheme for the operations of the next, and settled the quotas necessary for the execution of it, as events should fall out; and, the early meeting of the parliament having dispatched the supplies in good time, these generals, but especially the duke of Marlborough, when he went to Flanders at the end of April or the beginning of May,

* Of Tournay.

May, found an army ready prepared to take the field, to force the French lines, or to undertake a siege."

Mr. Walpole to the Rev. Mr. Milling.

" Dear Sir,

Wolterton, Norfolk, May 29, 1745.

" I am really ashamed of having neglected so long to return you, and my good old friend *, who remembers me so kindly and so often, my grateful thanks for your generous sympathy with me in the affliction I felt from the death of my dear brother, the late lord Orford. This heavy stroke made so deep an impression upon my heart, that for a long time I could do nothing but lament my own loss. * * * * *

" As to politics, I can only tell you, that my thoughts, as well as my situation, are at a great distance from them, and my *res rustica* employs me entirely. Retired from the noise and nonsense of a public station, no man, I thank God! can have more reason than I have to be satisfied with the more solid and innocent pleasures of a private life. In this situation my mind is kept in a pleasing activity, very different from that which arises from the tumult of passions, and the hurry of affairs. My house, of my own building, is not extremely large, nor little; is neither to be envied, nor despised. The disposition of the rooms is neither magnificent nor contemptible, but convenient. The situation is upon an eminence that commands a most agreeable prospect of woods intermixed with fruitful fields, and so sheltered by thick and lofty trees, in the cold quarters, as not to be exposed to the inclemency of the rigorous seasons. It is encompassed with a most delightful and innocent army of vegetable striplings of my own raising, which are already, (though but of twenty years growth from the seed,) with a becoming rivalry, stretching and swelling themselves into timber. They are all of noble and worthy extraction; the names of their families are oaks, spanish chesnuts, and beech; and I believe none of their relations, in any country, can be more promising and hopeful than they are. They are so ranged and disciplined, as to form, in some parts, most agreeable lines and walks, and openings in other places; from the right and left they discover spacious and delightful lawns.

" Before my house, on the south, a green carpet, of the finest verdure, gratifies the eye, and gradually leads it into a more extensive plain. On one side a lake of living water catches and fills the sight, from whence a

most

* Greffier Fagel.

most beautiful fluid glides with a serpentine and seemingly endless current, and loses itself in a wood on the other. My rural walks and contemplations amidst this mild, diversified and engaging scene, afford me constantly new sources of health and pleasure, and make me lament the noisy, anxious and tumultuous hours spent amidst the broils of faction, or vain attempts to serve an ungrateful public.

“ If this description pleases you, come, my dear friend, come and partake of the beauties from whence it is drawn. Come, and let us remember our friends in a modest cup of smiling home-brewed ale, and forgive and forget our enemies, and pray for the *peace* and *liberties* of Europe; the first of which, I am afraid, is not so near as I could wish, because the last seem to be in greater danger than ever, which, notwithstanding my retirement, and my philosophical pretensions, gives me frequently uneasy moments.

“ The beginning of the campaign, by the successful progress of the Austrians in Bavaria, and the consequent reconciliation of that prince with the queen of Hungary, was very hopeful, and could not have been bought too dear by the maritime powers, if a right use had been made of them. The use I mean, would have been to have laid hold of the king of Prussia’s offers, (if he had made any tolerable ones,) and put him out of the scale against us. I know the character of that prince; I know *how little he is to be trusted*, and I would not have trusted him without good security for the execution of his engagements. But if he would have agreed to abandon France, and would have given, by disarming, or by any other means, security for his good behaviour, the difference of a hundred thousand not acting against us, while all the other princes and electors of Germany, either out of affection or fear, had in a manner declared for us, would have greatly strengthened the common cause, and put the operations upon a right principle, in carrying them directly against France, and against France standing alone. Such a diversion might have been made in Alsace, and such a reinforcement in the Low Countries, as would have given the allies a great superiority, enabled them to have recovered what they had lost, and to have pressed the French so closely as to have obliged them to grant us a safe and honourable peace.

“ But now, my dear friend, I apprehend that the principal object of
the

the court of Vienna will be, (leaving the Low Countries to be defended by the maritime powers,) to distract, divide, and devour the prussian dominions. Their *pride*, their *vengeance*, and, above all, their *bigotry*, will naturally lead them to destroy a Protestant power that has dared to offend them. It is true, the Protestant prince, in whose hand this power is lodged, deserves to be chastised for the unworthy and perfidious use he has made of it. But I cannot wish to see that Protestant power destroyed : it may in some time or other fall into better and honester hands, and may thereby prove of singular advantage for preserving the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe. Hence it is that I have often wished to see a strict and lasting union, in peace and war, between the maritime powers and the house of Brandenburg, so as to make their own mutual defence of the Protestant religion and the balance of Europe a common cause between them ; for the late long and expensive wars have so exhausted England and Holland, as to make it impossible for them to exert themselves, as they have formerly done, for these good ends, without a supplemental power, such as Brandenburg, taking a share in it, and bearing by men and money some part of the necessary charge.

“ I know the debts of England, and I need not tell you of the debts of Holland, which, in proportion to the extent and opulence of the two countries, are still more enormous. I need not tell you, also, that the house of Brandenburg is a rising house ; the economy of the late king of Prussia ; the spirit of discipline he introduced into his army ; the ambition, talents, and active genius of the present monarch, must render that house a powerful friend or formidable enemy.

“ But can we, will you say, be allied with the houses of Austria and Brandenburg at the same time ? I answer in the affirmative, because I believe the thing possible now ; how long it may be so, exceeds my foresight to determine. Perhaps those two powers may, from the *amor sceleratus habendi*, or the lust of ambition, come to look upon their interests to be so irreconcilable that it will be scarcely possible to be well with them both. In such a case we must choose which of the two it will be most prudent to adhere to, and, for my part, I should not once hesitate in the choice. I perhaps may be singular in my opinion here ; but I know the court of Vienna too well ever to expect the smallest spark of gratitude,

generosity, or public spirit, in their transactions with us. Their conduct in this present war, which has been undertaken more in their own behalf than ours; the state of their troops, which are near 40,000 inferior to the number stipulated; the timorous and indifferent conduct of the troops, thus deficient; all this makes me look about to see if there is any thing in the queen of Hungary, except her fair face, that ought to make her the darling of the british nation, and of the united provinces."

"October the 29th, O. S. 1745. The rebels in Scotland, after having got (I am afraid by treachery) the capital of the kingdom, and in consequence increased their numbers considerably, so as to get the better of the king's troops then sent against them, having deferred, (whether in expectations of getting the castle of Edinburgh, or of succours from abroad, or from an unwillingness of the highlanders to leave their own country,) having, I say, deferred marching southward, and to get into England, where all the frontier towns were under the greatest astonishment, and entirely unprepared and destitute of means to resist them, gave time for people to recollect themselves, and, by recovering themselves, to think of their own defence, and of the fatal consequences of falling under the cruelties and bondage of a Popish arbitrary government, with subversion of their religion, liberties, and property. These apprehensions roused the laity to enter into general associations, and in many counties into subscriptions of large sums for making them effectual, by raising regiments, companies or troops, according to the different schemes proposed in different counties; and not only the Whigs, out of real zeal, but also the Tories, for fear of being suspected, joined in the associations, and a great many of them in the subscriptions.

"In the mean time, the preachers, of all distinctions, from the pulpit inculcated with great energy into the people the dismal effects of falling under a Popish governor; and sermons and pamphlets being also printed daily, setting forth popery and slavery in their true colours, have had such a wonderful effect upon the minds of the commonalty, that the popular cry in all places is loud in favour of our happy constitution, and with a detestation of any change in it.

"The city militia passed, last Saturday, through St. James's park, before his majesty, with such an affluence of people attending them as was
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never, I believe, seen before ; and when a particular person ('tis said well enough dressed,) scattered in the face of his majesty some treasonable papers, the mob was so incensed that, had it not been for the guard, 'tis thought they would have tore him to pieces ; so that the spirit and strength of the nation appears visibly in favour of the government ; and as general Wade will have a sufficient number of regular troops, and is marched towards Scotland, 'tis hoped and believed that, by the blessing of God, the rebellion there will soon be dispersed, unless France openly and vigorously supports the pretender's cause, for the preventing which our navy is very diligently and properly employed.

“ As to the parliament, although the address was unanimous and zealous the first day, yet some questions were started that portended divisions amongst us then. However, yesterday, upon a motion *to enquire into the causes of the progress of the present rebellion*, which, if carried, might have led us into divisions and party faction, the house was so fully convinced of the necessity of putting immediately an end to the present rebellion, preferably to all other considerations, and that the fire should be quenched before we should enquire who kindled or promoted it, that it was carried, not to put that question at this time, by 194 against 112, a majority of 82. So that I hope we shall now proceed unanimously, or at least with a great majority, to find supplies, and ways and means to enable the king to support the government, and restore peace and tranquillity to this kingdom. I can say nothing at present about foreign affairs ; my paper, my time, and the confusion they are all in, will not allow it.”

CHAPTER 28.

1746.

Attempts of the Earls of Bath and Granville to overturn the Pelhams—Short Administration of Lord Granville—Restoration of the Old Cabinet—The King's Indignation against Lord Harrington—Mr. Walpole's Memorial to the King in favour of Mr. Pitt—Return of Mr. Trevor to England.

THE king was indignant at the manner in which he had been compelled to dismiss lord Granville, and to admit into his service lord Chesterfield, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and several other persons, who had been in constant opposition to his government. His indignation was still farther increased by a strong remonstrance, made by the lord chancellor, on his want of confidence in his servants, which he heard with silence and disgust*. He accordingly treated the Pelhams with great coolness and reserve, even before his departure for the continent in the spring of 1745; and seemed to wait only for the first favourable opportunity of dismissing them from his counsels on his return. But this resolution was suspended on account of the rebellion; and the king's

* The fluctuation of the king's resolutions, and the embarrassed state of his mind, are alluded to in a note from the chancellor to Mr. Yorke, dated Powis House, Sept. 19, 1745. "Parturiunt Montes, but the mouse is not yet brought forth. It has vexed me heartily to be so cruelly called away from West to attend the labour, when the birth seems to be so far off. A certain person feels many pangs and throes; but I perceive, plainly, his principal midwife does not undertake to deliver him, and he (notwithstanding his partiality to him) does not

rely upon him. I have gone thus far in metaphor, and, indeed, I know not how to describe the scene upon paper in plain words. Imagine to yourself a situation, where a man wants to bring about what he sees is impracticable, won't enable the old servants to his family to do his business; and yet is convinced that those whom he is more inclined to cannot carry it on; wishing on one side, and embarrassing on the other; and then you have the picture of the *present family*."

king's resentment might gradually have subsided, had not the duke of Newcastle, in conformity with his promise to lord Cobham, proposed the appointment of Mr. Pitt to the office of secretary at war; and pressed it upon the king with repeated importunities.

At this period the friends of lord Granville asserted, that the king was a prisoner on his throne, and that an administration on a broader bottom was necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the emancipation of the sovereign. The prosperous turn of affairs, the retreat of the rebels into Scotland, the zeal which the nation had displayed in support of his government, and the reproaches cast against the weakness and inability of the ministry, inspired the king with confidence, and his friends with courage.

Lord Granville inculcated the necessity of the most vigorous measures, and proposed to revive the spirit of the grand alliance which had actuated the european states during the reigns of William and Anne, and reduced the power of France. England he wished to become the soul of the confederacy, and, by means of large subsidies, to obtain the co-operation of the austrian court, induce the Dutch to declare war against France, and concur in support of the common cause.

In conformity with this system, the dutch minister in England transmitted a plan for an immediate augmentation of their respective forces, and for a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the Netherlands. The king approved this plan, and warmly urged the execution of it, in his speech from the throne on the 14th of January. But the cabinet, affecting an aversion to involve the country in continental alliances, while the finances were embarrassed by the effects of the rebellion, opposed this plan; lord Harrington even wrote to the dutch minister in London, observing that the security of the Netherlands was a foreign though important consideration to England, but a domestic concern to the Dutch, and declined the proposed augmentation unless the Dutch should declare war against France.

This discordance of political views, on his favourite object, increased the dissatisfaction of the king; he lamented that, on the death of lord Winnington, he had not placed lord Bath at the head of the Treasury, instead of conferring on Mr. Pelham that office, and the chancellorship
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of the exchequer, which had given to his party the preponderance in the cabinet, and the sole power in the government. In this crisis the king complained to lord Bath, that he was under the dominion of an aristocracy, and was hemmed in on all sides; he conjured him to break the combination and set him at liberty, and offered him full powers to form a new administration. Lord Bath expressed his willingness to obey his majesty's commands, but candidly displayed the difficulty he had to encounter, and declared that success must ultimately depend on the king's steadiness and resolution. The king promised his support; and lord Bath concerted with his friend, lord Granville, the means of dividing the Whigs, conciliating the Tories, and gaining the co-operation of the prince of Wales. He then summoned a meeting of the monied men, and obtained from them a promise of furnishing the supplies on terms more advantageous to the nation than those they had already settled with Mr. Pelham.

These preliminary arrangements being made, the king flattered himself that he could secure part of the cabinet, particularly lord Harrington, whom he had endeavoured to conciliate in his journey to Hanover, both personally, and by means of his daughter the princess of Orange, who possessed great influence over him. He also expected to obtain the co-operation of Mr. Winnington*, of whom he had a high opinion, by

* Thomas Winnington, grandson of Sir Francis Winnington, solicitor-general of Charles II. and son of Salvey Winnington, of Stanford Court, in Worcestershire, was born December 31, 1696. He was educated at Westminster school, from whence he went to Christchurch, in the university of Oxford. He was chosen for Droitwich in 1725, for which place he continued a member until 1741, when he was elected for Worcester.

In 1730 Mr. Winnington was appointed a lord of the admiralty; of the treasury, in 1736; cofferer of the household, on the resignation of Mr. Walpole, in 1741; and paymaster of the forces, in 1748.

He was a man of great penetration and quick

parts; being a ready debater, he was very useful in supporting the measures of government in the house of commons, and possessed the intimate confidence of Sir Robert Walpole. He was among the distinguished votaries of wit and pleasure; and was an associate of lord Hervey, Mr. Fox, and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

Soon after his death, in 1746, a curious pamphlet made its appearance, which was intitled "An Apology for the Conduct of a late celebrated Second-rate Minister," and said to have been found among his papers. It implicated him, with Sir Robert Walpole, in a supposed scheme to bring in the pretender. This publication, although plainly ironical, gained



London, Published Feb^y 1st 1802 by the Rev^d W. Cox.

Winnington

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THOMAS WINNINGTON

From an Original at Point y pool Park.

by appointing him chancellor of the exchequer, with the management of the house of commons.

In the beginning of February, the importunities of the Pelhams, in favour of Mr. Pitt, brought the affair to a crisis. On the 6th, lord Bath coming from the closet, observed to lord Harrington, that he had advised the king to negative Mr. Pitt's appointment, and to pursue proper measures on the continent. Lord Harrington coldly replied, "They who dictate in private, should be employed in public." On the 7th, the king, perceiving his attempts to detach lord Harrington from his party ineffectual, gave way to his indignation, and reproached him with obstinacy and ingratitude. The whole phalanx, no longer doubting of his intention to dismiss them, held a meeting at the lord chancellor's, on the evening of the 8th, and determined on instant resignation.

On Monday the 10th, the duke of Newcastle and lord Harrington gave up the seals of their respective offices; and on the 11th, Mr. Pelham, to whom lord Granville had made overtures, also resigned, and told the king that he would avoid going into opposition as long as possible; but frankly added, that the united body of Whigs were averse to the earls of Bath and Granville. On the same day lord Gower gave up the privy seal, the duke of Bedford the place of first lord of the admiralty, and all the members of the boards of treasury and admiralty followed their example, excepting the adherents of the prince of Wales, lord Middlesex, and lord Archibald Hamilton.

In delivering the key of groom of the stole, the earl of Pembroke drew

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such credit as induced the executors of Mr. Winnington to declare, by advertisement, that it was not found among his papers; and to offer a reward of fifty pounds for the discovery of the author.

Mr. Winnington married Love Read, sister and co-heiress of Sir James Read, bart. of Broom's Barn, Hertfordshire; by whom he left no issue. His estates of Broom's Barn were divided between his two sisters, lady Masham and Mrs. Wheeler; and Stanford Court, with his other estates in Worcestershire, descended to

his cousin, Edward Winnington, who was created a baronet in 1755, and to whose son, Sir Edward Winnington, I am principally indebted for these particulars.

In the Historical Tour in Monmouthshire, chap. 29, I have published a letter from Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to Sir Thomas Robinson, on the death of Mr. Winnington; and the reader will find, at the conclusion of his political odes, an affectionate epitaph to the memory of his deceased friend.

an unfavourable picture of the characters of Bath and Granville, and expatiated on their unpopularity. More resignations were hourly expected, particularly lord chancellor Hardwicke, the dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Grafton, and Richmond. Mr. Winnington also declared his intention of resigning his office of paymaster of the forces; and when the king offered him the chancellorship of the exchequer, he returned the seal three times into his majesty's hands, adding, "The new ministry, sir, can neither support your majesty nor themselves; they cannot depend upon more than 31 lords and 80 commoners."

During this scene of confusion, the king in vain attempted to fill the places of his former servants. On the resignation of the duke of Newcastle and lord Harrington, his page of the back stairs, Evans, came to Bath-house privately, in a chair with the curtains drawn, with a message from the king, desiring lord Bath to repair to the palace. His lordship waited on the king, accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, and received the two seals of the secretaries of state, which he conveyed to lord Granville, who was indisposed. Granville was immediately constituted secretary of state, and announced his appointment in a circular dispatch to the foreign ministers. Lord Winchelsea was destined for the admiralty, and lord Carlisle for the office of lord privy seal.

But the new arrangements were suddenly suspended. The king, surprised and intimidated at the numerous resignations, and the unexpected firmness of the old cabinet, faltered in his resolution, though lord Bath exhorted him to persevere, and offered, through the medium of the prince of Wales, to secure the Tories. He would not venture, however, to provoke the Whigs, who had supported his family on the throne while the rebellion was uncrushed; he was averse to a Tory administration, and still more unwilling to owe the formation of his ministry to the intervention of his son. Perplexed and embarrassed, he shut himself up in his closet, and refused to admit those persons who were pouring in upon him with white staves, gold keys, and commissions. On the 12th he sent for Mr. Winnington, told him that he was the honestest man about his person*, and should have the honour of the reconciliation; and

* From Sir James Gray to Sir Thomas Robinson, Venice, March 26, 1746.

The lord chancellor observes, in a note to his son, dated February 12, 7 at night, "The king

and commanded him to inform Mr. Pelham that he would accept no more resignations, and was desirous that his old servants should be reinstated in their employments.

Thus terminated a ministry of forty hours. Lord Granville, the only person who had kissed hands, resigned his office; the seals were re-delivered on the 14th to the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Harrington, the old cabinet resumed their employments, Mr. Pitt was constituted vice-treasurer of Ireland, and, on the death of Mr. Winnington, became paymaster of the forces.

Although the King thus wisely yielded to the torrent, yet, with that elevation of character which disdained dissimulation, he did not affect to conceal his displeasure; he dismissed lord Bath with marks of favour and confidence, desired him to write an account of the whole transaction, and even declared it was a shame that a man (alluding to the duke of Newcastle) who was not fit for a chamberlain to a petty court in Germany, should be forced on him and the nation*. But he carried his

sent a message this forenoon to Mr. Pelham, by Mr. Winnington, to let him know that his majesty was determined to accept no more resignations, and intimating that he would have his old servants to return and accept their places; that he expected an answer to-morrow morning. *Res magna agitur; sentio amplius deliberandum.* The king's honour, our own honour and security are to be consulted."

* The narrative of this transaction is principally taken, from Memoranda written by the late earl of Hardwicke, from the communications of his father and Mr. Winnington; from the information of the bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Douglas); from a letter of Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor, dated Feb. 14, 1745; and one of Sir James Gray to Sir Thomas Robinson, dated March 26, 1746.

The particulars of lord Bath's transactions with the king are taken from bishop Newton's Life, who received them from lord Bath himself, with whom he lived on terms of

the strictest intimacy; and this account is corroborated by the respectable testimony of the bishop of Salisbury, who frequently heard the same particulars from the earl of Bath. Yet the anonymous author of the *Anecdotes of the Life of William Pitt, earl of Chatham*, presumes to call in question bishop Newton's veracity.

"Dr. Newton says, that lord Bath wrote an account of these transactions, at the desire of George the Second; but that, on the death of his son lord Pulteney, in the reign of George the Third, his lordship burned it—*Fide indignus.*" Vol. I. p. 212, edit. 1794. If the assertions of a venerable prelate, whose character for veracity was unquestionable, and who had no motives for deception, are to be thus petulantly contradicted, on what foundation can historical evidence be made to depend?

I think it a duty I owe to the public, in mentioning this wretched compilation, to declare, that, from the access I have had to the papers

his resentment against lord Harrington to a degree unworthy of his character. In November his majesty ungraciously dismissed him from the office of secretary of state, and was, not without great difficulty, persuaded to appoint him lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The friends of the prince of Wales continued in office; and a few changes in the subordinate departments of government took place, which added still greater weight to the cabinet. Mr. Fox succeeded to the office of secretary at war, in the room of Sir William Yonge, who, on the promotion of Mr. Pitt, became vice-treasurer of Ireland. Lord Barrington was placed at the board of admiralty, and Mr. Welbore Ellis at that of the treasury.

During this struggle for power, Mr. Walpole, conscious of Mr. Pitt's great parliamentary abilities, and aware that no administration, formed by lord Granville, could withstand the efforts of the party which adhered to the Pelhams, had the courage to submit to the king a memorial, recommending his majesty to comply with the request of his ministers, and confer on Mr. Pitt the office of secretary at war*.

“Should his majesty, although unwillingly, condescend (and a very great condescension it would indeed be,) to take a certain person into a certain place, it seems to be the only probable measure to carry on his business effectually in parliament, especially in regard to foreign affairs. Should his majesty, as is now currently reported, absolutely refuse to come into this measure, it is to be apprehended that things would run into confusion in parliament, as the house is now constituted.

“Those

and documents of the times, I find the Life of the Earl of Chatham superficial and inaccurate, principally drawn from newspapers and party pamphlets, and interspersed, perhaps, with a few anecdotes communicated in desultory conversations by earl Temple. In affecting to give a volume of important state papers, the editor has raked together a collection of speeches, memorials, and letters, the greater part of which are derived from periodical publications.

It becomes a matter of extreme regret that the life of so great a statesman and orator has

not been delineated by a more faithful and able hand.

* This memorial is preserved in the handwriting of Mr. Walpole, among the Walpole Papers, endorsed by himself, “The substance of this paper was repeated to his majesty on the 28th of February 1742½, when the contest was depending about the admission of Mr. W. Pitt to be secretary at war.” The date of this paper is perhaps erroneous, and should be January instead of February. It was probably read to the king by the duke of Devonshire.

“Those that advise the king to reject this measure, have the advantage of speaking agreeably to his majesty’s own inclinations; but it is well known, that their motives are founded upon their own particular views of avarice and ambition, without considering the dangerous consequences to his majesty’s affairs.

“Those that advise his majesty to come into this measure, have the same opinion as to the person in question, with regard to his past behaviour, as his majesty has, and as heartily detest it; and therefore cannot possibly have any other view, in this advice, than as they think it absolutely necessary for his majesty’s service. Should his majesty reject this measure, as it will be then visible, and is now generally believed, that those who are not in places have his majesty’s preferable countenance and affection, in opposition to those that are in the chief stations of his service; these must be obliged to retire, not out of pique or resentment, but because, for want of his majesty’s authority and support, they will not be able to serve him in parliament. The consequence of which, in all likelihood, will be, that others will succeed in their places, whose characters (whether justly or unjustly is not the question,) are so odious, both within doors and without, and even in foreign countries, that they will still be less able to carry on his majesty’s business, whatever their personal talents and abilities may be, especially in this parliament, where, upon their coming into his majesty’s service, it is to be apprehended that such a ferment may arise, as to turn the proceedings there into questions of enquiries and impeachments, instead of the true interest of his majesty and the nation at this great exigency; and this exigency seems indeed to be so great, that it cannot suffer a dissolution of the parliament; and could that be, of what principles and complexion a new one would be composed, is too obvious to every eye, without making it necessary to enlarge upon it.

“The admitting the person in question into the place desired, would be the *coup de grace* to the pretended patriots, for the following reason. The Patriots, in the last elections, joined with the Tories, which made the parliament so strong and prevalent, against the great man, and minister, that he was obliged to retire: incidents have since happened to divide these Patriots among themselves, and separate them so from the Tories,

that there remains only this squadron of lord Cobham to make the once formidable body of Patriots of no consequence. If this squadron should be admitted into the present administration, and consequently joined to the old Whig corps, his majesty's business would probably be carried on well, by this coalition, until the end of this parliament; the Whig party would be again united, and there would be a hopeful prospect of getting a new one, of principles thoroughly attached to his majesty's person and government; especially considering the great breach into the Tory party, by the accession of the duke of Bedford and lord Gower, with their friends, to the present ministry; which accession is thought to have had a great influence in keeping the disaffected in the suspected counties quiet when the rebels came there, and will certainly be of great weight in the next election, if those noblemen should continue, in their several stations, to strengthen the Whig interest; but, if retired or removed, they would probably return to their old friends and party, and the majority of the next parliament would consist of Tories.

“ These are the sentiments of a person ever unvariably attached to his majesty's government for the sake of his country, and to his person out of duty and gratitude for his majesty's infinite goodness to himself and family, that has no particular confidence or connection with any person now living, who neither wants nor desires more than what he has, and consequently can have no bias or views, but what long experience, and knowledge of persons and parliaments, have suggested to him for his majesty's service.

“ And no soul whatsoever, besides the bearer hereof, is in anywise acquainted with his submitting these reflexions to his majesty's better judgment; humbly begging pardon for taking this liberty, and that it may remain in his majesty's breast only.”

Mr. Walpole, having a violent abhorrence of a Tory administration, a particular aversion to lord Bath, and a high regard for Mr. Pelham and the chancellor, was not displeased with the termination of the contest. A repartee of his, on this occasion, is still preserved in the family. During the two days administration, being told that all was *settled*, he replied, “ I presume in the same manner as what we call a *settlement* in Norfolk; when a house is cracked from top to bottom, and ready to fall,

fall, we say it is *settled*." The wits of the times also indulged themselves at the expence of the short-lived ministry. Sir William Stanhope, on lord Granville's resignation, remarked, "That he was only surprised he had kept his office so long;" and another joker observed, "It was unsafe to walk the streets at night, for fear of being pressed for a cabinet counsellor*."

The transient alteration in the ministry made no permanent sensation on the public mind; all things returned to their antient channel, and the remainder of the session was no less unanimous than the former. The supplies were granted without opposition, and the proceedings were so unanimous that they scarcely produced a debate, and are only known by the titles of the acts. The royal cause was rendered wholly triumphant by the memorable defeat of the rebels at Culloden, and the duke of Cumberland became the idol of the nation.

The confidential correspondence which Mr. Walpole maintained with Mr. Trevor, and which has furnished this work with so many interesting letters, terminated in the course of this year, in consequence of Mr. Trevor's return to England. The last letter, preserved in the Hampden Collection, is dated June 21, and July 2, 1746.

"Your last envelope was of the 25th, N. S. to which the former, relating to the insolent interposition of France, by the infamous and impertinent avowal of a scandalous dutch agent †, and known pensionary to France, in favour of the pretender's son and his adherents, and endured by the States without the highest resentment, by an immediate revocation and punishment of their own accord, has indeed entirely sunk, silenced, and alienated the *one and only friend* that the ministers of Holland, and the States, as a State, had left in this country. Indeed, the person I mean is a friend of no great consequence, as you will easily believe, when I tell you it is *myself*. I, and I alone, have constantly, and from the beginning of the unfortunate events in France, both in private and public, dared to attribute the variety of fatal accidents and actions, such as, the shameful cowardice at Fontenoy; the scandalous surrender, without defence,

* Sir James Gray to Sir Thomas Robinson, March 26, 1746.

† Mr. Walpole alludes to a letter written from Van Hoey, the dutch ambassador at Paris,

to the duke of Newcastle, claiming the liberation of some british officers, adherents of the pretender, who were taken prisoners, on the pretext of their being in the service of France.

fence, and without punishment; the forbearing to declare war against France, though under the strongest obligations by treaty to do it; the receding of their ships, at the time they were actually joined with ours in defence of the coast, when an invasion was expected from France; their suffering their wicked minister to continue, even after revocation, in the court of France, and avowedly acting the part of a declared enemy to England, the best ally to the States: I say, these, and many other signs, in appearance, of subserviency to the French, and of disregard enmity or contempt of us, I have dared, against the cry of all sorts of people, to attribute to the inability, divisions, and want of an executive power in the government; where resolutions, in consequence, are founded upon an unanimity, and where often, on that account, a small and obstinate minority prevails against a majority. I have justified the chief ministers there, as being honest and able men, and of principles well affected to the common cause, from the least blemish of treachery design and particular affection to France, or disaffection to this country; and asserted that none of those faults, that carry so black and base an aspect as some of them do, were acts of the State, or the sense or intentions of the dutch ministers, or of the bulk of the nation.

“But now I have nothing more to say; but I really think an unaccountable infatuation, like the sickness of their cattle, has possessed and infected the whole country. And, indeed, I have nothing more to say in behalf of my old friend the pensionary; and, between you and me, I have some time been of opinion, (if he is not in the interest of France, as I will not yet believe him to be,) that he is a pious honest good citizen, but not a great and able minister; and I can by no means reconcile his conduct, as far as I have been informed, to my notions of a minister of spirit and resolution, sincerely convinced of our having one common interest, of the exorbitant and dangerous greatness of France, and of the fatal consequences to the liberty and trade of both nations, should she become and remain the mistress of the Low Countries.”

“July 2d, O. S. I had wrote thus far, as you will see by the date, some days ago; I have since seen the duke of Newcastle’s answer to the impudent Van Hoey, and your memorial that accompanied the delivering of it to the States, which cannot be sufficiently commended; and

in

in the last gazette I see the pensionary's retirement to the Spa, for six weeks, at this great and critical juncture; the occasion of which I can easily imagine must arise from the uneasiness of his situation, both with respect to peace and war, and the unaccountable management of both in both countries; all these rouse in me, instead of resentment towards him, the greatest compassion, and increase my strong inclination for peace! For after our most fatal indolence (to call it no worse) in not marching after the French, terrified and disheartened at the loss of the battle of Dettingen in 1743; after the misunderstanding and difference between the generals of the allies in 1744, which lost us the opportunity, I believe, of surprising and taking Lisle that campaign; and, above all, our backwardness (it was a most unaccountable mistake that weakness in the good pensionary,) in not making the king of Prussia's offer of a reconciliation or neutrality, with the queen of Hungary, a condition, *sine qua non*, of our subsidies and assistance to the house of Austria, in the beginning of 1745, which might, by well concerted measures, have made the allies superior to France in all parts of Europe, prevented the conquest of the Netherlands, and not have put the king of Sardinia almost under the necessity of making a separate peace. After (I say where the point was I can't or won't guess,) we had neglected to improve these providential incidents, I say after such neglects, considering the irretrievable consequences of them, and the circumstances of both nations in all respects, my inclinations and prayers have always strongly tended to a peace. To what peace? to a dishonourable and insecure one? I may be asked. Things good and bad are of a comparative nature, and so more or less according to circumstances; and although a bad peace was made at Utrecht, considering the advantages of the war, I can't flatter myself that an unsuccessful war can procure an advantageous peace. But if we continue to carry on a ruinous and losing war, sure I am that the peace must be still more disadvantageous. The saving the Low Countries out of the hands of France, is the great and essential point to this nation; and if the price asked for it is so unpopular that a ministry dare not venture to give into it, they may pursue the war, until not only the Low Countries, but the price they may have in their hands to give for them, may be lost too. What then will be the peace, and where will be the popularity?

“ This

“ This doctrine did not make me backward in granting the supplies to support the common cause abroad. My friends and I were more earnest for them to keep up a good countenance, and to save the appearances of our being entirely undone, and immediately exposed to the mercy of our implacable enemy. But these supplies, and this countenance, should have been made use of as a weight to procure, and not to reject the terms of a tolerable peace. But the minute I saw all appearances of that nature vanish, I returned from parliament hither, not out of humour, for I will never shew myself so publicly, but out of heart or hopes of seeing any end to our troubles, or the progress of France ; and, perhaps, I am not much out of the way in imagining that some reflexions of the same nature may have contributed to carry my old friend the pensionary to the Spa. And now, notwithstanding the glorious seeming effectual destruction of the scotch rebels by the duke of Cumberland, notwithstanding the advantages gained, and that may still for some time be gained by the Austrians and king of Sardinia over the French and Spaniards, I am afraid I foresee (God forbid that it should be so !) as great calamities threatening this nation, not in the person of the king, but with respect to the government, by the year 1748, as happened in the last century about that time. Should I go on, I should really grow melancholy : such a variety of black circumstances crowd upon my thoughts as I write, and have conveyed my pen much farther than I intended, or indeed as becomes one so insignificant, and so intirely removed from the sphere of business. But your goodness will excuse this inconsiderate rant,” &c.

He then mentions his intention of sending his son to Venice and Vienna. He adds, “ My letters, and my son’s name, will serve to make that place, by means of my friend Sir Thomas Robinson, as agreeable and as acceptable as a *Walpole* can be at that court. For, by a preposterous way of reasoning, peculiar to the Austrians, although our family have always been in a *proper manner*, and the old Walpolean corps (for so the body of Whigs now in parliament are called,) are now the chief support of the austrian cause ; yet our name is not of good odeur at Vienna.”

Notwithstanding the address and judgment with which Mr. Trevor managed the untractable spirit of the dutch ministers, he experienced
several



Dear Boy,
your anxious Father
Trevor.

Hampden —

ROBERT TREVOR 1st VISCOUNT HAMPDEN

From an Original at Wimpole

several embarrassments and unpleasant circumstances. The mission of lord Chesterfield to the Hague seemed to imply a tacit censure of his abilities and conduct. The freedom with which, in imitation of his patron, Mr. Walpole, he wrote on hanoverian politics, and his incessant representations on the necessity of peace, gave umbrage to the king, and to those members of the cabinet who promoted the continuance of the war: his situation accordingly became so irksome, that his friend, Mr. Pelham, after announcing the embassy of lord Chesterfield, confidentially* advised him to solicit his recal, and promised assistance in promoting his interests at home with his brother and the king†. Mr. Trevor accordingly obtained his recal; and was soon after his return nominated commissioner of the customs in Ireland, and in 1759 obtained the office of joint post-master general.

* Mr. Pelham to Mr. Trevor, October 29, 1736. Hampden Papers.

† In 1756 Mr. Trevor assumed the surname of Hampden, in consequence of the will of his relation, John Hampden, esq. who bequeathed to him Hampden House, and large estates in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Hampden was great-grandson of the celebrated John Hampden, killed at the battle of Chalgrove Field, from whose daughter, Ruth, Mr. Trevor was likewise lineally descended.

In 1764 Mr. Trevor became lord Trevor, by the death of his last surviving half-brother, and was created in 1776 viscount Hampden; relative to which event an anecdote is preserved in the family. In an audience, the king said to him, "My lord, why do you suffer the great name of Hampden to drop?" "Peers," replied lord Trevor, "do not change their name without the permission of the sovereign." Some years afterwards the king proposed to create him viscount Hampden, and enhanced the distinction by the gracious manner in which he

announced his intention by means of his son-in-law, the earl of Suffolk, secretary of state.

Lord Hampden died in 1779, aged 78, highly beloved and regretted by his family and numerous friends.

His lordship retained extreme fondness for classical literature to the latest period of his life, and amused his leisure hours with various compositions in latin verse, which do honour to his learning and taste. His son, the hon. John Trevor, has given a testimony of filial veneration, by a splendid edition of some of his father's latin poems, printed in folio, with the beautiful types of Bodoni. Lord Hampden also wrote notes on Milton and Martial, and a commentary on Horace, which his son thus mentions, "A long and valuable work, which formed his favourite amusement during several years; it contains the most elaborate scholia upon the whole of Horace's works, and is, perhaps, one of the most severe, erudite, and elegant works of criticism that exists."

CHAPTER 29.

1746.

Divisions in the Cabinet—State of Foreign and Domestic Affairs displayed in the Correspondence between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham.

THE triumphant manner in which the cabinet was restored, the accession of strength which they acquired, and the unanimous support of parliament, inspired the public with hopes, that as they were now free from the controul of lord Granville, and possessed full power to pursue their own system, affairs both at home and abroad would be conducted with more consistency and success.

On the contrary, the ministry were more weak and divided than before. The duke of Newcastle, in virtue of his official department, aspired to the sole conduct of foreign affairs, and more fully displayed that natural jealousy against his colleagues which his dread of Granville's ascendancy had hitherto contributed to suppress. His suspicions extended even to his brother, Mr. Pelham: the only person in the cabinet in whom he placed implicit confidence was the lord chancellor, whose professional duties, as well as his obligations to the duke, gave him neither leisure nor inclination to interpose often in foreign transactions; and his endeavours were principally exerted to conciliate the two brothers. The inefficiency of this divided cabinet was increased by the king's total want of confidence in his ministers.

The duke of Newcastle, either for the sake of promoting his influence, or perceiving the imbecility of his system, began to adopt the very measures which he had reprobated when proposed by lord Granville, and seemed eager to gratify the inclinations of the king in a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the Netherlands. This system was disapproved by Mr. Pelham, who had opposed lord Granville in the same measures, from a conviction that they were inimical to the interests of England, and ruinous in the disordered state of the finances.

A few

A few letters, which have been saved from the wreck of the correspondence between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham, display the candour of that minister, the divided state of the cabinet, and the perplexities derived from the opposition of Leicester-house.

“There was a debate,” writes Mr. Pelham, in a letter dated June 12th, 1746, “in the house of lords this day, upon a motion of lord Lonsdale, who would have addressed the king, to defer the sending abroad any troops ’till it was more clear that we are in no danger at home, which he would by no means allow to be the case at present. The duke of Newcastle spoke well for one that was determined to carry on the war; Granville was present, but said nothing, flattered the duke of Newcastle when the debate was over, and gave a strong negative to lord Lonsdale’s motion.” * *

* * * * *

After describing the uncertain state of affairs in Holland, he concludes: “Thus things stand, my dear Horace, abroad, and if I were to write an hour, and rack my brain to the utmost, I could not say one word that would recompense this ill news, by any thing I can observe at home. I heartily wish you all happiness where you are; nothing but a total destruction can disturb that; but we that are rowers in the ship cannot expect that quiet. We must pray for better times, though we cannot expect those prayers will be heard; for in truth we don’t deserve them.”

“Greenwich-park, Aug. 23, 1746. I question much whether your expedients, though right in themselves, will do at this time. We have abundance of heads, and every one actuated by his own passions, or particular views. The duke * means well, and, could every thing be decided in the manner of the battle of Culloden, would execute very well too. I have the honour, I flatter myself, to be very well with him, and shall take care to use the little interest I have with him cautiously, in order the more essentially to serve him and the whole; for upon him the whole depends.

“Osorio† and Wassener both assure us, that the armies of their respective masters will follow the enemy into France itself, and by that means cause such a diversion, or make such a havock, as shall enable our plenipotentiaries to act with proper dignity at Breda. I heartily wish they may be rightly informed; but in the mean time, I must tell you, the empress

* Of Cumberland.

† The Sardinian and Austrian ministers.

empress queen has absolutely refused to send an ambassador to this *petit congrès*, and we have as absolutely insisted that she shall. Such a *piece* has come from Vienna as you, perhaps, have seen many a time, but as I never read with attention before; one would have thought that they had been the conquerors every where, and that instead of receiving from, they had paid subsidies to, Great Britain; that they were so good allies, that, forgetful of their own particular interests, they thought of nothing so much as procuring us a free navigation in the american seas, and maintaining to the crown of England that inestimable fortress of Louisburg. You easily understand all this, for this language was held at Vienna, even before the last victory in Italy. The king of Sardinia certainly talks well, and will, I dare say, consistently with his own security, effect what is proposed.

“ In the mean time, dear Horace, what shall we do another year? The Dutch have, by Mr. Buys, declared to lord Sandwich, that they cannot, on any account, think of another campaign; and if they cannot, where shall we find ground to fight upon, or money to pay our troops? Let us, therefore, profit of our present meliorated situation; drive the enemy, if we can, and negotiate at the same time.

“ I know your discretion too well to think myself in any danger of having discovered what I write to you. I own I am full of the public at present; I know you are always so: to whom, therefore, can one unburden so properly, as to one whose experience will enable him to make proper reflections; whose zeal for the public intitles him to know its concerns, and whose friendship will prompt him to excuse errors, and cover those weaknesses which I am sensible I too often fall into, for want of the assistance of those on whose judgment and integrity I have all my life depended.

“ Adieu, dear Horace, and believe me no indolent servant to the public, and your most sincere friend.”

During Mr. Walpole's retirement at Wolterton, the rapid progress of the french arms in the Low Countries filled him with alarm and despondency; and he was not dazzled by the temporary advantages gained by the Austrians and Sardinians in Italy, nor elated with the hopes of successful descents on the coast of France. He was deeply affected with the
divided

divided state of the cabinet, and impressed with a melancholy prospect of the danger which arose from the divisions in the royal family. In his familiar correspondence with Mr. Yorke, he drew an interesting sketch of the dismal state of foreign and domestic affairs, which he calls a *dream* :

“ Dear Sir,

October 6, 1746*.

“ Your goodness in renewing a correspondence so agreeable to me, should not be damped for want of a suitable return on my part, nor from punctilio (a thing which true friendship abhors) in expecting regular answers from each other; but my having nothing to say that deserves the trouble of a letter, checks my inclination to write, and blunts my pen. Should I sally out, and set upon you with an account of my rural occupations and amusements, with my wholesome exercise of the Georgicks by day, and pleasurable lecture of them in Virgil at night, you are so conversant with that great author, and so happily seated to enjoy the fulness of all country delights, that you would smile at the idleness of my attempt to entertain you in that way.

“ Should I, forgetting my woods, waters, and lawns, let my thoughts take a ramble into the spacious fields, or rather wilderness, of politics, 'tis such a gloomy and melancholy scene that you would be soon weary of my dismal perspective of affairs abroad. Look into Flanders, and you will see, with the town and citadel of Namur (the strong and eminent barrier against our most formidable enemy,) entirely destroyed, if not recovered and rebuilt, the trade and safety of Britain rendered for ever precarious; and can the most sanguine reflections present to you a probability of its being recovered either by peace or war? Will the French have generosity enough to restore it voluntarily, in amicable conferences, without conquest or equivalent? and how shall we engage victory to be on our side, or where find an equivalent for them? Have we any hopes of a superiority in the Low Countries this year, or to have near such strength there as will not make the odds of a battle greatly against us? Will the successes of our allies in Italy occasion any diversion of service to our army in Flanders? Will the Austrians and Piedmontese, in consequence of their late victory, agree to prosecute the common cause against France? Did want of ability or harmony prevent them making, for above two months together, any good use of the first battle they won? Will not the Genoese, though

* Hardwicke Papers.

though it costs them dear, gain the protection of the house of Austria, so far as to disappoint, in a great measure, the satisfaction which the king of Sardinia may desire and deserve? Will it not be too late in the year for our allies in Italy, should they agree, to make such an impression on the southern parts of France, as to draw the attention of that crown, and give us an opportunity to make an advantage of it in Flanders? Or have we such hopes of the pacific temper of the king of Spain, as to give the French the least jealousy or uneasiness, and by that means forward their disposition for a peace? Will our maritime expeditions intimidate our enemies, or satisfy even reasonable people at home?

“ Have our American projects been promoted, and suddenly stopt backward and forward, at a great expence, upon steady uniform councils? Have not our colonies been under various and contradictory orders, which must have cost them great sums, with great disappointments and discontents? And is not the secret expedition now on foot undertaken purely to save appearances, that the vast charges of our naval armament this year may not seem to have been flung away? Can there be any real prospect of any success of consequence from a descent upon the coast of France; or will it serve any other purpose than, perhaps, to provoke France to a retaliation, and to give us new troubles at home? Nay, perhaps the best thing to be desired may be, that our fleets may, without great loss, be scattered by the high winds, and not suffered to make any attempt, to prevent the ridicule of our being engaged in an useless and destructive one to ourselves, in this distracted state of things, with the entire loss of the Low Countries; the farce of a congress at Breda; costly but insignificant equipments at sea; extraordinary demands on account of the late rebellion, and the prosecution of the rebels; nothing to be said to animate and encourage the well-affected, and secret and vindictive resentment among the enemies of the government.

“ Upon what foot will the king meet his people in parliament? What can be said, and what can be done? Can there be any plan of peace, or of warlike operations, ready to be opened or intimated to the house? As to the first, I think, in the nature of things, it is impossible; as to the war, I am afraid we shall in November be as backward in our schemes as we have hitherto yearly been; and yet king William and the duke of Marlborough

borough had always by that time concerted their plans for the following campaign.

“ Well ; but the parliament must meet : we must not lie down and die ; we must make our utmost efforts, and not subject ourselves to a base and inglorious peace, that will expose us afterwards to the mercy of France. Will the Dutch, or can the Dutch, (whose late pensionary * died of a broken heart,) concur in such expence of measures as will, joined with the Austrians, give us a superiority to act offensively in Flanders ? Or will the Austrians have the recovery of that country more at heart than they have yet had the saving of it ? Will they, for that purpose, in conjunction with the Piedmontese, enter next year into Provence, besiege, supported by a fleet from us, Toulon ? Or will they not rather, as they did the last war, turn their views and efforts towards Naples and Sicily ; and by that means fix the pacific and wavering king of Spain more than ever in the interest and union with France, and leave the re-conquest of Flanders to the maritime powers ?

“ These reflections, you will say, are obvious, and must and will occur to those whose business it is to think of them, and will, without doubt, be represented in their proper light, and in a proper place. Will they so ? I hope they will. But let me pause a little : shall I go on ? I am come to a ticklish point,

“ *Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ.*”

“ But honest freedom is allowable among friends. Will then the ministers concert together, and all agree in one uniform plan of measures ? Will they, if they agree, all and equally recommend and support it in a certain place ; although they may suspect that their advice will not be entirely welcome there, as it might prove useful if followed ? Will, then, a minister † that loves to do every thing himself, and is so jealous as not to endure a seeming preference to himself in the closet, even in favour of his nearest relation ; will he, having been lately flattered into belief that he has more credit there than he really has, or will ever have there ; will he, I say, risk the loss of imaginary credit, by supporting a proposition that he finds to be disagreeable ? Will another minister ‡, who once had great credit, but having lost it on a certain occasion, is as desirous as ever to recover it,

* Vanderheim.

† Duke of Newcastle.

‡ Lord Harrington.

it, venture to speak plain and steadily? If these should prove faint and feeble in matters directly belonging to their own province, the sincerity, steadiness and eloquence of others, not so immediately from their offices and stations, concerned, will not, I am afraid, avail much. They will, I apprehend, be considered as understanding the *Law** and the *Finances* †, within their respective departments; but be told that foreign affairs are out of their sphere.

“ But supposing all those, who, by their situation, are proper to advise, should settle among themselves a plan, and should resolve and pursue the resolution with great loyalty and firmness—

“ I am now again at a stand, and my pen trembles in my hand. If I go on,

“ *Incedo per ignes*

“ *Suppositos cineri doloso.*”

“ However, sincerity prevails. I say then, will a plan for peace or war, recommended by the zealous concurrence of all his servants, be adopted by the master? Have they his real credit and affection? and are there not those out of place who have a greater influence with him? And will they ever suggest or promote a scheme that may redound, in the execution of it, to the honour of them that are in the administration? Nay, will they not endeavour, and be able, by a whisper artfully conveyed, to obstruct and divert the pursuit of the wholesome advice of his immediate and faithful servants?

“ But there is still something more preposterous and absurd. There is a sort of *imperium in imperio*, a court within a court. The royal family is split into two branches, separate and independent of each other, and each in effect has a share in the government; and while the father and the son are divided in every other respect, they both seem to have a confidence in the same persons, who, as is often the case of those out of employment, are more attached to the son than to the father; but, having a secret credit with the latter, direct their advice to him in a manner agreeable to the inclination of the former; and, while every body perceives and knows this management but the father, the son, besides the natural weight of his own servants in parliament, gets an increase of strength in the house, and has it frequently in his power to turn the scale in questions

* Lord Hardwicke.

† Mr. Pelham.

stions of the greatest nicety and importance, and to disappoint the ministry in the means necessary to carry on the affairs of government ; and then care will be taken, by artful insinuations conveyed to the closet, to lay such a disappointment to the weakness and want of ability in the ministers, and not to the various intrigues arising from the combination of different causes, and the confused state of things at court.

“ But, to complete this distraction, it is whispered, that a most unaccountable and dangerous phenomenon is ready to break forth ; which is, that the elder brother and heir entertains jealousy of the younger, whose glorious actions, although conducted with the greatest modesty for the salvation of the whole family, have created more uneasiness than satisfaction, and have been the secret cause, from certain bragues, why prince Charles of Lorrain had the command of the allied army in Flanders this campaign : that a great intimacy has been struck up between the court of Vienna and that of Leicester-fields ; and that upon this foundation, and by a proper management, deducible from what goes before, the house of Austria flatters her selfish pride with being able to govern at St. James’s, and by that means to carry on their own views and the war according to their own private notions ; and that no british minister shall either dare, or be able to oppose or controul their presumptuous schemes.

“ In the mean time the popularity restored to this royal family, by the brave and prudent conduct of the duke, will by degrees wear out ; the apprehensions of popery and slavery, from the great progress made by the rebels at first, will be forgot and vanish ; the sense of our melancholy situation abroad, and the fatal consequences of it to this nation, will be universally felt ; cries and clamours will be heard in our city and our streets ; the disaffected will recover from their despondency, and, resuming new spirits, will stir up opposition in this parliament while it lasts, and will be active to secure a majority on their side in the election of a new one.

“ The ministry will, ’tis to be feared, be so embarrassed and distressed, that those who have secret credit at court will represent the impossibility of retrieving affairs in their hands. But as these gentlemen behind the curtain are so detested by the Whigs as to make it impossible for them, if employed, to gain sufficient credit and assistance from that quarter to manage the helm, the necessity of taking in the Tories will be suggested ;

in short, this general confusion will end, either by a premature dissolution of the present, or by the choice of the future parliament, in a Tory administration; and the consequences of such an event are too obvious to require or endure an enumeration of them.

“ But you will say, where is the remedy to this calamitous situation? To which I reply, Prussia, Prussia, Prussia! Real friendship and strict alliance with that crown might have prevented these misfortunes; that only can now retrieve them: or, let it be peace or war, that only can save Europe, and in particular England, from the fetters of France.

“ I had dreamt thus far the other night, when my loud cry of *Prussia* startled and awakened me; and, having rubbed my eyes, I was glad to find, upon reflection, it was all a mere dream, and as such I send it to you, for want of something more useful or pleasant, to keep up our correspondence, and to pass away a tedious winter's evening.

“ Dear Sir, your pardon for the impertinent trouble of a dream! Adieu,
your ever most affectionate, The Political Dreamer.”

Mr. Walpole also transmitted this singular letter to his friend Mr. Pelham, inclosed in one which is not among the papers at Wolterton, and to which the minister made the following reply:

“ Dear Sir,

October 25th, 1746.

“ Your kind letter of the 18th I received, as also the copy of what you call your dream, addressed, some few days before, to an anonymous correspondent; I believe I guess the young gentleman for whom you entertain so favourable an opinion, and, if I do, my own imagination follows yours in that partiality, as it does in the sentiments you express in what I call your confidential correspondence with him.

“ I wish what you say may prove a dream, but I fear it will, before we expect it, prove a reality. I have not for some time expected any good fruit from our conferences at Breda, indeed never since lord Sandwich went there; not from any prejudice or opinion of want of ability in lord Sandwich; but as I knew he went with a disposition to please those that sent him, and as I saw their view was rather to convince the court of Vienna that we would do nothing without their consent and participations, than to give satisfaction to Holland, that we did actually, and *bona fide*,

fide, mean to make up this burthensome, unequal, and impracticable war, whenever we could obtain honourable and decent terms of peace. By this means, poor Trevor, who has always wished the latter, because he found the former endless and impracticable, has lost all his credit here; and is, as fast as we can bring it about, losing the credit he had amongst the well intentioned people at the Hague. Foreseeing what would happen, I have secured for him lord Duplin's employment in Ireland, who will make a vacancy in that commission, by succeeding Tommy Brudenel in the board of trade here. I mention this, as I know you wish Trevor well; and I have done it, as I know he is to suffer for adhering to what, I think, every honest and sensible man should turn his thoughts.

“ Our conferences at Breda are at a stand; the French not allowing the admission of the austrian plenipotentiary, and we as firmly insisting that he shall be admitted. In this situation every one called out for a plan, either of peace, or for another campaign. None, you may imagine, was louder for this than myself; having for some years experienced the hard work of calling for supplies, and at the same time not being able to say how they would be employed, or what proportion our allies would or could furnish on their parts. His grace, who is all military, and will take the word of an austrian minister for true sterling, as lord Granville used to put it off for such, though *he* knew, at the same time, it was arrant brass, has prepared one and shewn it to the king, got his approbation easily, as it was founded on his own principles, and then, by the king's order, shewed it to lord Harrington, lord chancellor, and myself. Having seen it before, you may imagine how his lordship took such a communication, and that not the better for having discovered the duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich had kept a correspondence ever since the latter went to the Hague, without ever communicating or owning any thing of it to him.

“ My dear Horace, how easily do we forget our own complaints against others, whenever we have an opportunity of putting in practice the same or much more extraordinary measures ourselves. I have, however, kept things from breaking out as yet, and the great desire a certain person * has to keep his employment, and to try to recover his lost credit, will, I conceive,

* Lord Harrington.

conceive, keep things from a public rupture some time longer. The plan has no harm in it ; it promises for us 18,000 Hanoverians, 10,000 British, and 6000 Hessians in Flanders ; a subsidy of 300,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary, and I suppose as much to the king of Sardinia ; for which the first is to have 50,000 men in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons, the same number in Provence, and a sufficient body of troops in Italy to keep Spain in awe, in case she should not make up with us before the next campaign. The king of Sardinia is to join the austrian army in Provence with 30,000, and also to furnish some proportion for the defence of Italy. The Dutch are, by this plan, desired to furnish only 20,000 national troops, and the 5000 Bavarians now in their pay, for which we are charged with the greatest part of the subsidy. There is also some mention made of securing a body of troops from the czarina, the expence of which is to lay chiefly upon us ; but Holland is supposed to be willing to pay her part.

“ I don’t doubt but you say all this is very well ; but will it ever be ? Can we expect from the Austrians such a support for 300,000*l.* when we have not been able this year to procure half of it for 550,000*l.* ? Will the king of Sardinia march with 30,000 men into France next year, after notice given, when he has shuffled, and at last got his neck out of the halter, this year, even when there was no enemy to oppose him ? I am so full of these military dreams, that I write on, forgetting who I write to, exposing possibly my own sentiments, and tiring you with undigested, crude, and imperfect representations upon affairs of the greatest moment, and in which you have so thorough a knowledge.

“ To return, therefore, to what I set out with, lord Harrington will, I believe, send this plan, provided we make our demands of the Dutch equal to what they have hitherto furnished ; for he says, and I think with truth, that though they have lost their barrier, they have lost no territory, of consequence no revenue ; that having not declared war, their trade has not suffered, and of consequence their ability, in point of expences, equal to what it has ever been during this war. How can we, therefore, be justified in asking less of ’em ? It is, indeed, so necessary to keep them with us, that it may be expedient to accept of less ; but that won’t justify our setting out upon a less demand. I have seen a letter
which

which his lordship has prepared upon this subject, a wise one, not an unnotional one ; it will read well in parliament, and steers clear of absolutely refusing what it is supposed the king may desire. I can't write to you by halves, and I hope there is no danger in your post, that what I write will be seen before it comes to your hands.

“ Mr. Fowle has wrote you word, how much I think myself obliged to you, for your kind offer of coming to town a week before the parliament meets. I hope it will not inconvenience you, and sooner it would be barbarous to call for you. Our news in London tells us that duke d'Anville was, the 19th of last month, on the coast of Acadia ; that he had suffered much in his passage. Knowles writes word, that he does not think he will attack Cape Breton ; but, if he does, he fears him not. He supposes they will take Anapolis ; and says, he doubts not to retake it next spring. All I know of St. Clair, &c. is in the gazettes. One of our ships has taken a french man of war, the Mars of 64 guns, and brought her into Plymouth. Our stomachs are ready prepared for drams ; this is a good one ; I wish we had many more. Write me word you have received this letter ; I need not say, take care that no mortal sees it, and you will greatly oblige, dear Horace, your most affectionate and faithful friend.”

The death of Philip the Fifth, on the 9th of July, enlarged the views of Mr. Walpole, and inspired him with hopes of detaching Spain from France. These hopes were strengthened by his knowledge of the characters of Ferdinand the Sixth, and of his consort Barbara, daughter of John the Sixth of Portugal, who principally governed her husband, was friendly to England, and anxious to promote a peace. Some intelligence, which he received from Spain, induced him to address George the Second on this subject ; and two of his letters to the king are preserved in the Walpole Papers.

Mr. Walpole to the King, with Extracts of Intelligence from Spain.

“ Cockpit, Jan. 19, 1746-7. Having considered that, notwithstanding the prohibition of commerce with Spain by act of parliament, spanish goods, and especially wines, are constantly and notoriously brought
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into this kingdom, by various fraudulent practices, without paying any duty to your majesty. I thought it advisable to move the house for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of that act, which was done, and agreed to last Friday. And having, at the beginning of the sessions, given in common discourse notice of my intention to make this motion, a merchant in the city, greatly concerned in this trade, immediately, it seems, let it be known, in a secret way, to a friend of his residing in Spain, who has frequent access to the queen consort there. This merchant, on Saturday last, brought me a letter to read, from his said correspondent, and gave me leave, under the strictest promise, not to make his own or his friend's name known, (which might prove of bad consequence to them both,) to take the inclosed extract of it; which I have done on purpose to lay before your majesty, as what may deserve your majesty's information.

“I have thought it more advisable to send it thus in writing, without waiting upon your majesty myself, or conveying it by any other channel, having no correspondence with your ministers. Although I am an entire stranger to the present situation between your majesty and the crown of Spain, yet I hope the contents of the inclosed paper will not be disagreeable; but I cannot pretend to judge whether any other use may be made of this correspondence, in order to have (without committing your majesty) any thing suggested by this way in general terms to the queen of Spain, relating to your majesty's, as well as the nation's, favourable disposition towards the crown and the people of Spain; or whether this is already, or may by degrees procure a sufficient opening to lead the person residing in Spain, to let fall, as from himself, any particulars (as opportunity may offer) to the queen of Spain, that may tend to recover and promote a good understanding between the two crowns, upon which I shall be ready to receive your majesty's sentiments and commands, and to cause them (if you are pleased to send me any,) to be transmitted by the same secret conveyance to Spain.

“But I must most humbly desire that your majesty will not expect, at least at present, to know the persons concerned in this correspondence, which purely regards their own trade. The person residing here I know very well, and can depend upon his veracity; and I can make some guess at the other; and I have no reason to doubt but what he says too is true, because

because it is no more than what arises from the course and nature of his correspondence with his friend ; and he could never imagine that it would have fallen into mine, and still much less into your majesty's hands. However, whether it be thought of any consequence or not, I hope your majesty will pardon this troublesome zeal of mine for your service ; these blind and indirect ways have proved sometimes of more use than more open and direct negotiations, which may plead for my excuse in laying this before your majesty."

Reply of the King.

" *For Mr. Horace Walpole, at the Cockpit.*

" I thank you for your intelligence. It would be a very desirable thing, if it could be brought about ; but there is hitherto too many insurmountable difficulties for it. You may easily imagine, that it is of such an importance, that no time will be lost to come to a conclusion whenever those can be removed.

" G. R."

Mr. Walpole to the King.

" Cockpit, March 31, 1747.

" I presume to send your majesty, inclosed, extracts of letters from Spain, by the same conveyance and from the same person as before, and to observe, that, by these accounts, it looks as if the present queen had the greatest influence at that court, and that the great point, and as a condition, *sine quâ non*, for peace and friendship with your majesty, seems to be an establishment, little or great, for don Philip, which the author says, *for very great reasons which he dares not write*.

" It is reported, how true I can't tell, that the chief thing insisted upon by Macanas, for a peace with Spain, is the restitution of Gibraltar. I know Macanas very well ; he is a thorough proud Spaniard, and as such it is probable he will dwell long and earnestly upon that article ; for during the congress of Soissons, he, being then in France, was very busy in that affair ; but as not one word is mentioned relating to Gibraltar by this correspondent, and the present queen there makes the settlement of don Philip the only and necessary means for a reconciliation with England, I am led to think that the *very great reasons* which the correspondent says he *dares not write*, *why the young gentleman must not come home again*, and which he so emphatically repeats, are founded upon an apprehension

hension that the queen may be under, that if don Philip should return to Spain again, he may interfere with her in the council and government of Spain, where she is said to have, as your majesty will see by the inclosed extracts, *as much or more power than her predecessor had*, and which she will, consequently, be jealous of keeping without a rival; and as she is not a Spaniard, may be very indifferent about Gibraltar, especially being a Portuguese, and the court of Portugal, for very obvious reasons, would certainly be very sorry to see Gibraltar again in the hands of Spain. What or whether any use may be made of this intelligence, is entirely submitted to your majesty.

“A peace got with Spain, by the means of the present queen, so powerful there, would very probably renew the antient good understanding between the two nations, and make your majesty’s influence and interest with that crown more prevalent than that of France. And is it not to be apprehended, that the present queen of Spain (rather than suffer don Philip to return again to that court, which seems a personal concern to her, and what she has most at heart,) may not, in order to procure some settlement for him at a distance, be provoked (if she can’t obtain it by your majesty’s means) to renew and push the war with vigour in Italy, jointly with France, for obtaining that end? which seems to be her intentions by the warlike preparations now making in Spain, as your majesty may observe by the foresaid extracts. And may not the frequent differences, between the courts of Vienna and Turin, end in forcing the king of Sardinia to make a separate peace with France and Spain, by an establishment of don Philip, and Spain will be contented with a much smaller one now than in the late king’s time, for that prince? and the consequences of such a breach, in the alliance with your majesty, may, I am afraid, be dangerous; but how it is practicable to procure that satisfaction, I cannot pretend to determine.

“If I have presumed to say too much, I hope your majesty will attribute it to an overflow of my zeal for your service, and of that duty, gratitude, and attachment to your sacred person, which will ever be inseparable from my life.”

The King’s Answer.

“I thank you for the information you have given me, and, if opportunities offer, you may depend upon my improving it.”

CHAPTER 30.

1746—1747.

Mr. Walpole inculcates the Necessity of forming an Alliance with Prussia—His first Letter to the Duke of Cumberland—Extracts of Letters from Mr. Pelham.

MR. WALPOLE justly appreciated the true situation of affairs; he saw that the efforts of a divided ministry, who did not possess the confidence of the sovereign, would be weak and ineffectual; and that the dilatory measures hitherto pursued were ill calculated to resist the progress of the French in the Low Countries. Having learnt, from long experience, the imprudence of relying on the promises of the ambitious and jealous cabinet of Vienna, and on the wavering counsels of the dutch republic, he was aware that the empress queen would employ the english subsidies in an italian campaign, and leave the principal defence of the Netherlands to the English and Dutch. He therefore inclined to the pacificatory system of Mr. Pelham; but deprecated all attempts to obtain a peace by acts of despondency or submission, and enforced the necessity of extorting reasonable terms from France, by the prompt display of a formidable force. This plan, he urged, could not be effected by quotas of auxiliary troops upon paper, or by entering the field two months after the French had opened the campaign.

The only method of meeting the formidable power of France, by an equal or superior force, was, in conformity with his plan projected in 1740, to conclude an alliance with Prussia, and thus detach an effective body of 100,000 men from the French, and place it in the scale of the allies. But George the Second having transferred his antipathy against Frederic-William to his successor, the ministers scarcely dared to hint at a closer connection with Prussia, or to combat his prepossession for the house of Austria.

Mr. Walpole, however, was not deterred by apprehensions of royal indignation; he laboured this point with unabating perseverance, and enforced it, as well in his private correspondence with the lord chancellor, Mr. Yorke, the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pelham, as by means of papers and memorials which were occasionally submitted to the king.

The coolness with which these representations were supported by the ministers, and the aversion with which they were received by the king, fully appear from the letters of Mr. Pelham and Mr. Yorke. "Your other letter," says Mr. Pelham, "is of much greater consequence to the public at this time, than any formalities that attend the trials of these unhappy wicked men *." I wish I could as easily see my way through the difficulties of our foreign affairs, as I do in the others nearer home. I have the good fortune to agree with you in most of your observations on the present state of affairs abroad; and have been so far benefited of your good advice, as to make use of your ideas in *a certain place*. When I state them, they are not objected to; but, in the progress, I soon find that there is a secret view behind, that over-rules all plain reasonings that can be offered †."

Mr. Walpole became more urgent in the prosecution of his plan, in consequence of the ill success which attended the arms of the allies in the campaign of 1746. The French did not intermit hostilities during the winter; and marshal Saxe continued his successful operations without opposition. On the 30th of January, Brussels was suddenly invested, the garrison of 9000 men surrendered prisoners of war, and immense magazines, with a numerous train of artillery prepared for the ensuing campaign, fell into the hands of the enemy. This reduction of the capital secured to the French the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands; and Louis the Fifteenth only joined the army to take quiet possession of Louvain, Mecklin, Antwerp, and the remaining fortresses, and to threaten the frontiers of Holland.

The Dutch, alarmed by the approach of the enemy, made the most vigorous efforts, and solicited, in the most pressing terms, the effectual co-operation of England. But the rebellion in Scotland, and the dissensions in
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* Alluding to the trials of the rebel lords.

† Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole, July 29, 1746.

the cabinet, retarded the supplies; and prince Charles of Lorrain did not take the command of the confederate army till July. The forces of the allies were, however, so inadequate to resist the career of the French, that he only witnessed the capture of Mons and Namur, and terminated the contest in the Netherlands by his defeat at Raucaux. These disasters were ill compensated by the splendid advantages which the austrian and sardinian forces gained in Italy, and the temporary invasion of Provence. During the course of the campaign, some hopes of peace were excited by the congress at Breda, where the austrian, french and british plenipotentiaries assembled; yet Mr. Walpole, well aware that peace was not to be dictated by raw politicians at a congress, but by an army in the field, was convinced that the negotiations would speedily terminate without effect.†

“As to congress and treaties,” he observes in a letter to Mr. Yorke, “*Donatus jam rude*, nothing will ever bring me again upon that invidious and ungrateful stage. The time is come that green years can dictate to grey hairs*: infants are now politicians, and crush hydras in their cradles. Even experimental knowledge and wisdom belong to the young, and not the old men of this age; and it may truly be said of us decrepit statesmen, *Bis pueri senes*. The prince of Wales knows more than his royal

* The strong expressions in this letter will remind the reader of Mr. Walpole’s speech in the house of commons, and the celebrated retort of Mr. Pitt, which is given in Chandler’s Debates on a bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen in 1740, and echoed by Smollet and his copyists. Yet this celebrated retort of Mr. Pitt existed only in Johnson’s imagination, who penned these debates; and is one of the instances which realise his assertion that ‘he took care the Whig dogs should not have the better of it.’ An anecdote, communicated by the late lord Sidney, from the authority of his father, who was present, will exhibit the slender foundation on which Mr. Pitt’s supposed philippic was formed. I give it in his lordship’s own words: “In a debate, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, and, perhaps, some of the Gren-

viles, who were then all young men, had violently attacked Mr. Horace Walpole, he, in reply, ‘lamented that, having been so long in business, he found that such young men were so much better informed in political matters than himself; he had, however, one consolation, which was, that he had a son not twenty years old, and he had the satisfaction to hope that he was as much wiser than them, as they were than his father.’ Mr. Pitt got up with great warmth, beginning with these words: ‘With the greatest reverence to the grey hairs of the honourable gentleman!’ Mr. Walpole pulled off his wig, and shewed his head covered with grey hair; which occasioned a general laughter, in which Mr. Pitt joined, and all warmth immediately subsided.”

royal father; the duke of Bedford is already a better land and sea admiral than ever Sir Charles Wager was; our notable schemes for american expeditions will certainly preserve Cape Breton; the earl of Sandwich will jostle our friend Trevor out of his place in Holland, and, by his superior genius, animate and bring that heavy mass or chaos of a government, to order, vigour, and activity; and when he comes to Breda, with a dash of his pen, like an inspired man, will soon make France less formidable, and the house of Austria more tractable. Golden days are flowing in upon us; I shall not, but you may, live to see them in their full lustre: in the mean time, as I am a poor broken-winded politician, I will follow the advice of my namesake, *Solve senescentem, &c.*"

At length, finding all his efforts ineffectual, and perceiving the insuperable dread of the ministers to renew their solicitations in the closet, with that force and unanimity which he deemed necessary, Mr. Walpole took the resolution of applying himself to the duke of Cumberland, who commanded the allied army in Flanders, and whose influence with the king was unbounded.

He commenced his representations by a letter dated November 29th, 1746. After a complimentary address on the appointment of his royal highness to the chief command, as the only means calculated to save the country, he states the plan which he had formed, during the administration of his brother, for a grand alliance, capable of resisting the power of France and Spain, by the concurrence of Prussia. He examines the king of Prussia's conduct from the first invasion of Silesia; dwells on his repeated offers of a compromise, and contrasts his apparent readiness to enter into negotiation with the haughtiness and obstinacy of the austrian cabinet. He adverts to the efforts of Sir Robert Walpole, and his own endeavours to promote the reconciliation. He recapitulates the events of the disastrous campaigns in Germany, the consequent successes of France, and the neutrality of Prussia, purchased on terms more humiliating than would at first have secured the cordial assistance of that power.

"The temporary success," continues Mr. Walpole, "occasioned by the secession of the king of Prussia, was soon checked by his breach of the neutrality, suspicious that Austria, in conjunction with Russia, Saxony, and the king of England as elector of Hanover, meditated the conquest and
partition

partition of his territories, Frederic again brought his army into the field, and restored the preponderance to France." Though Mr. Walpole allows that the perfidy of the prussian monarch might have justified this coalition; yet he censures the imprudence of provoking his resentment at this important juncture. "This being the case," he says, "the late lord Orford thought it his duty, although retired from business, to acquaint his majesty with the dangerous consequences of attempting to divide the prussian territories, which would end in making France mistress of all Europe, and might prove a fatal blow both to his royal and electoral dominions." He recalls to the recollection of the duke, who commanded the allied forces in Flanders, the ill consequences which ensued from the division of the austrian forces; and urges the folly of their cabinet in rejecting the repeated overtures of pacification made by Frederic, until their consent was extorted by the disastrous situation of their affairs. "Although," he adds, "the treaty of Breslaw saved the empress queen from impending danger, and enabled her troops to gain great advantages in Italy, and even to make a successful irruption into Provence; yet it was concluded too late to save the Austrian Netherlands, and the same inability to cope with the French in that quarter still continued."

After establishing the position that the force of the allies was insufficient to regain the Low Countries, or secure an honourable peace without the assistance of Prussia, Mr. Walpole combats the objections, and lays down his grand scheme for securing that assistance. He reprobates the conduct hitherto pursued with regard to Prussia, whose concurrence, he urges, was to be obtained, not by dark hints and weak insinuations in the closet; not by sending an inefficient envoy to Berlin, without positive instructions, and with the form rather than the reality of a negotiation; but by strong and repeated instances from all the ministers to the king, persuading him to write a cordial letter to the prussian monarch; by sending a person of high distinction with specific propositions and full powers; by extorting the concurrence of the austrian court, on pain of losing the english subsidies, and by giving a parliamentary sanction to these overtures.

I find no documents in the Walpole Papers which enable me to ascertain whether the duke returned any answer, or in what manner he received

ceived this letter. The arguments had certainly no effect, either on his conduct, or on that of administration. The same measures were pursued ; and though the parliament, which met in November 1746, granted liberal supplies, and unanimously acceded to all the demands of the minister, the army in the Netherlands was equally inefficient, and the campaign still more unsuccessful.

In Italy, the austrian and sardinian forces were compelled to retreat from Provence ; Genoa was recovered from the Austrians by the desperate efforts of the natives ; and Piedmont and Milan threatened by the French. In Flanders, the operations of the allied forces were weakened by the dissentions between the generals ; the french army, led by marshal Saxe, and inspirited by the presence of the king, defeated the allies at Laufield*, after an obstinate and bloody action, in which general Ligonier was taken prisoner. The duke of Cumberland repassed the Meuse with great precipitation ; the French made themselves masters of the frontier towns in Dutch Brabant ; after a short siege took Bergen-op-Zoom (a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable) by assault, and threatened to over-run the province of Zealand.

The approaching danger excited tumults and insurrections in the United Provinces ; the magistrates were charged with incapacity and perfidy ; the prince of Orange was invested with the supreme command by land and sea, and the Stadholdership revived, and declared hereditary in his family. This revolution, in the hitherto headless government of Holland, gave new spirit and energy to the efforts of the Dutch ; but could not check the progress of the French, nor prevent the siege of Maestricht.

During these events Mr. Walpole did not intermit his remonstrances ; and Mr. Pelham enforced them in the closet, though without success. Soon after the battle of Laufield, he thus writes to Mr. Walpole : “ I won’t trouble you with foreign politics ; the last gazette extraordinary is the true account of the action. I have not wanted representing here the substance of your sentiments, though not in your name. I doubt not I am thought too pacific to meet with that credit with our young hero, that I think I deserve from him, and which I once had with him. He has never honoured me with a line since he went abroad, nor has even his

secretary

* May 1746.

secretary vouchsafed to let me know he is alive. I do not, however, fail in my duty to him, and have accordingly wrote to him since the last engagement, by which I shall see whether my letters are welcome, and go on or not, as I find."

In another interesting letter the minister describes the delusive hopes entertained by his colleagues, the pacific overtures of the french king through general Ligonier, and the subsequent fluctuation of counsels in the cabinet.

" July 30, 1747. I should have acquainted you with the various incidents that have happened since I had the pleasure of seeing you ; but the subject was too melancholy for me to write upon, or for you to read. Your last, which I had the honour of yesterday, points out our true condition as exactly as if you were yourself upon the spot, and as much in business as ever. Our victory in Italy, the possibility of raising the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and the great words and vain assurances of the prince of Orange, every now and then furnish us with fresh spirits, and deceive us into an opinion that this war is still to be supported and carried on with a prospect of success. But when we have none of these drams to cherish us, but are reduced to the plain naked demonstrable truth, I find we are as ready to hearken to any advice that may possibly extricate us out of our difficulties, as any of those who have never flattered themselves with either the glory or advantage of five expensive losing campaigns. You may probably have observed in the newspapers, that some kind of opening towards a peace was made to Ligonier during his captivity in the french camp.

" The first was this ; Ligonier was received with all the politeness and marks of distinction that was possible to be shewn to one of the highest rank, and the french king himself ordered that he should be entertained at marshal Saxe's quarters. The consequence was, that the marshal had many confidential discourses with him, and, upon the whole, told him that the king did not love war ; that he, the marshal, as little desired to continue it ; that the whole french nation hated him ; that, were one misfortune to befall him, the king himself could not protect him ; that he had already all the honour he could wish for, and all the rewards for his services that he desired, or the king could grant. That, in this situation,

Ligonier

Ligonier must believe, broken as he was also in his constitution, that he must wish for peace, and withal that he knew his master did so too. After some farther conversations to the same purport, he told Ligonier that the king of France desired he would return to the duke of Cumberland, assure his royal highness, in his name, of his desire to put an end to the war; that he thought that could not but be done by them two, at the head of their respective armies; that he knew the droiture of the duke too well to imagine he would engage in any thing without his allies; but as the two armies would probably remain in a state of inaction, there would be time for his royal highness to receive the opinion of our allies, and he doubted not but they would wisely trust their interests in his royal highness's hands; with many other engaging compliments to the duke. That as to the king of France, Saxe said, he looked for nothing for himself; that he should be willing to restore all Flanders, as it now is, excepting Furnes, which he should expect to keep if we insisted on the total demolition of Dunkirk; but if we would let that harbour remain as it is now, he would then desire nothing but the restitution of Cape Breton. That Genoa ought to be restored, if taken, to the republic, and the duke of Modena reinstated in his own dominions. That Spain must be included and considered; but as this was one frenchman talking, and another frenchman writing, I cannot be particular on that head; but to me it appeared, that what was said of Spain, was more to save their honour than essential in itself.

“ This has been the political subject in the closet ever since; I am clear the king was pleased with it, and as clear that the duke was not averse to having his share in this negotiation. But the prince of Orange having most warmly protested against it, and having wrote a volume of pedantic reasonings upon the subject, some of us, the duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich in particular, hesitated a good deal; and at last an answer was sent, not over complaisant in manner, and, in my opinion, excessively cool in the matter. Notwithstanding this, France does not give it over, but still keeps up the same polite way of acting (though in a very odd style) that they begun it in. We have, of course, meeting upon meeting, and our whole time is taken up in defending and blaming, without taking the determinate measure of for or against.

“ I have now opened to you the great secret of the times, which, like all others where many are entrusted, is known in general, though not in particulars. Abroad we are not in the least better; the disagreement between our duke and the stadholder is evident, though not prudently managed by the former. The queen dowager of Spain is sent from Madrid to one of the four towns mentioned in the late king's will: it is supposed she will go to Toledo, as the cardinal infant is ordered to his bishopric. These things look well, but still nothing is come to Kew as we know of.

“ I have not failed to inculcate the notion of Prussia, both at home and abroad; but that nail won't go; we must either make peace, or this war must still be maintained at a greater expence by this country only, for assistance from others we cannot or will not have.”

Another letter from Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole, during the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, expatiates on the despair of the Dutch, the disastrous state of the allied forces, and continues: “ In short, dear sir, it is too late to look back; we might have had last year a better peace than we shall be able to obtain this, and this a better than we shall get the next. We fight all, and we pay all, it is true; but we are beaten, and shall be broke. His majesty is frightened, and talks reasonably upon any subject but the one you and every reasonable man thinks most material. You would have him court Prussia, rather than be necessitated to take a bad peace: he had rather take any peace from France, than court Prussia to carry on the war. You judge so rightly of what France will do with regard to Prussia, that the general guaranty of Silesia was one of the points in the last paper delivered by the marshal Saxe to Ligonier. We were silent upon that head in our answer, which I doubt not will be made use of against us, in case the negotiation breaks off; I observed it at the time, but to no purpose. * * * *

“ I think of the parliament as you do, and have told my master so; I am sure they will approve of any measures the king's joint administration shall lay before them; but we must be convinced ourselves, before we can set about to persuade others. I say this parliament is composed of as true Whigs, and friends to this government, as any since the revolution; that they are elected by the common consent of the people; but they

are not servants, they are friends; they must therefore be treated as such; they must see the interest of their country is pursued; they may be led, but they cannot be drove. I have, and some others, inculcated your ideas; they take place in part, but not in the whole; it is that has made me so zealous for peace: I wrote the duke so; and, by the general turn of his letters, I think he is of my mind.

“ I doubt I see the king of Prussia beginning already; he complains of the austrian troops in, I think, the duchy of Mountfort, and, though he acknowledges the sovereignty of the States, has sent a small detachment to protect the people. Storms are gathering in the North; a treaty has been long negotiating, as I conclude you know, between France, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark; the latter begins to shake, and it is whispered as if Bremen and Verden were to be the sacrifices there. So that our electorate, as well as our kingdom, has its apprehensions.

“ If all these considerations cannot move a certain person, will the representation in writing of a few private men, some of whom perhaps will unsay in the closet what they have consented to out of it, avail at all? No, dear Horace, believe me it will not; we have nothing to do but to make up the present quarrels, get a little breathing time; and then, perhaps, some people may come to their senses, or some sense may come to them. I shall conclude with telling you, that I plainly perceive from Bentinck, as well as from the correspondencies which I have seen, that our two young heroes agree but little: our own * is open, frank, resolute, and perhaps hasty; the other †, assuming, pedantic, ratiocinating, and tenacious; sees the danger at his own door, and demands assistance like a conqueror; the other more circumspect, and full as resolute, not to give what he does not think safe to part with. In what a situation then are we! we must pray for the best, for to direct it we cannot. I doubt you think me indiscreet in trusting to paper, what I shall never repent trusting to you; if it comes safe to your hands, I am satisfied; let me know it does so, for till then I shall have my fears.”

* The duke of Cumberland.

† The prince of Orange.

CHAPTER 31.

1747.

Second Letter from Mr. Walpole to the Duke of Cumberland—Substance of the Third Letter.

MR. WALPOLE, deeply affected with the gloomy aspect of affairs, and the king's inflexibility, transmitted a second letter to the duke of Cumberland, while he continued at the head of the army, which cannot be abridged without injury to its spirit and sense.

“ Sir, Wolterton, near Aylsham, Norfolk, Aug. 26, 1747.

“ I took the liberty, in a paper dated the 29th of last November, to trouble your royal highness with a political deduction of the state of things abroad since the beginning of the war, and, by considering the strength of the army to be formed this year under your command, I did humbly presume to intimate my apprehensions that the French would continue to have such a superior force in the Low Countries as to put it out of your royal highness's power to act with that success as the exigency of affairs might require, and might be expected from your extraordinary talents, if supported with the necessary means for that purpose. That, notwithstanding your unparalleled courage and conduct, your royal highness would not be able, without the assistance of the king of Prussia, to act offensively against France, or to oblige that exorbitant power to hearken to reasonable terms of peace; and that the consequence of an inactive campaign, or a defeat on the part of the allies, might prove fatal to the liberties of Europe, and all his majesty's dominions.

“ I am grieved, most heartily grieved, to see, as far as I am able to judge at so great a distance from the scene of action, that the subsequent events of this year's campaign have not mended the melancholy state of affairs, nor removed our apprehensions. The same causes subsist, and will naturally produce the same effects; and, without a most extraordi-

nary interposition of Providence, destruction, like a torrent, is ready to overflow this unhappy nation.

“ Your royal highness, with an activity and zeal becoming yourself, endeavoured to animate the allies to furnish a corps of troops that might enable you to bring early into the field an army of 140,000 men. A convention was accordingly made between the powers concerned for that purpose; the respective quotas were stipulated, and it was farther agreed that the queen of Hungary should provide 60,000 men, and the king of Sardinia 30,000 to act in the southern parts of France. Not to mention the obligation of those two powers to entertain a sufficient number of troops to intimidate the kings of Spain and Naples; this diversion, calculated to oblige the enemy to weaken their forces in the Low Countries, and to make the army under your command superior to the French, would have been a glorious project, and the most hopeful basis for a successful campaign, if some of the powers engaged had not wanted both abilities and inclination to carry it into execution.

“ But, alas! sir, those who had the least experience in affairs, and knowledge of the maxims and practice of the court of Vienna in former wars, foresaw, and foretold, that it must prove an imaginary scheme; that the Austrians could never be able to furnish their contingent, and that if they could, instead of penetrating into the southern parts of France, they would have found, as they did in the last war, some excuse for diverting their army from such a noble enterprise, to undertake the siege of Naples; and that is what the Austrians meant by the 4th article of the convention relating to that kingdom.

“ And lo! while our spirits are raised with sanguine expectation, that the Austrians and Sardinians, having passed the Var, would push immediately into France, we are suddenly surprised with the disagreeable news that they were obliged, on the approach of marshal Belle-Isle, to repass that river with great precipitation; and it seems that instead of being 90,000, their army did amount to no more than 25,000 men. In the mean time the people of Genoa took up arms, and drove the Austrians out of their city, and from the strong holds; and I can't forbear observing, that this unfortunate turn was occasioned by a preposterous piece of policy on the part of the Austrians in leaving the Genoese armed,
that

that they might be in a condition to resist any attempt from the king of Sardinia. At last we were made to believe that the joint efforts and good understanding (that never was and never will be cordial) between the Austrians and Sardinians, would soon re-take Genoa, when we were again surprised with the news of their being compelled to raise that siege.

“The consequent superiority of the French in the Low Countries, and the management of the war in Italy, is but too well known, and, I am afraid, felt by your royal highness; and you are the best judge whether your want of a sufficient support and assistance, in the late battle of Val*, was not as much owing to the policy of the Austrians, as to the cowardice of the Dutch. Glory, your inseparable companion, did then, and will ever attend your arms; but as long as victory adheres to the strongest side, and the French continue to be the strongest; while, at the same time, courage, force, or inclination for carrying on a successful war, are wanting in our allies; the continent, and in consequence this country, must be lost, irretrievably lost. If Bergen-op-Zoom should be taken, that fatal epoque cannot be far off; if it should not be now taken, the evil day will not be entirely removed, but only deferred, if we continue the same resolution of fighting bravely every year on the same unequal terms, and consequently of being every year bravely beaten.

“In this critical situation of affairs, it may be asked, where is the remedy? It may be thought too officious for one retired entirely from all business, but it is so obvious I can’t forbear repeating it. Means must be found to strengthen the hands of your royal highness, and to weaken the power of the enemy, and the only means to answer these ends must be had from an alliance and friendship with Prussia; and by detaching Spain from her engagements with France, not so much in order to carry on the war, which I apprehend they will not readily concur in, but to co-operate with his majesty by their countenance, so as to make France think it necessary to offer reasonable terms of peace, and to settle the tranquillity of Europe.

“As to Prussia, I laid so fully before your royal highness, in a former paper, the steps to be taken for gaining a good understanding, with the assistance of that princē, to a certain degree, that I shall beg leave to refer

* Called also the battle of Lauffield.

refer you to the perusal of it a second time. I am persuaded those steps would then have succeeded, had they been willingly and earnestly pursued in the proper places; and I should be hopeful that they would not fail now, if they were accompanied with the same principles of friendship, interest, and security, with regard to that prince, as I then suggested. These steps might be farther explained or varied according to the present circumstances.

“ Believe me, sir, the procuring of an alliance and friendship with Prussia, is the sense, to my own knowledge, of those that are the most zealously attached to his majesty in this new parliament, and the general voice of all those in this nation that are well affected to his government. This, I am persuaded, his majesty does not know; and I am very sensible how difficult it is to let him know it; and still, perhaps, more so to induce him to hearken seriously to it; for those who are in the proper station to do it, (for whom I have a great regard,) will not, for reasons too delicate for me to mention, undertake to lay this great and important truth before his majesty in a most dutiful but cogent manner; and the king may at last be astonished to find himself and his people upon the brink of ruin, for want of having been timely informed of the remedy that might have been applied to obviate or repel the impending danger. Your royal highness has shewn yourself to be the greatest hero of your time; you have gained glory, even when you have lost battles.

“ *Si pergama dextra defendi possent, &c.*”

“ The glory of procuring a reasonable peace from a victorious enemy, has not indeed the same éclat and lustre, as that of forcing him, by conquest, to submit to your own terms; but, in the present nice balance of immediate safety or destruction, it would make your wisdom as conspicuous as your valour; and would, from the universal good procured to mankind, and particularly to your own country, gain you as much affection and applause as a patriot, as you have got reputation as a general, which another unfortunate action may greatly diminish, if not entirely destroy. You have, sir, the heart of your royal father, and, next to him, of the people. His glory and future tranquillity, their safety and happiness, depend upon you; exert your superiour genius, and act as the chief minister of his counsels in the cabinet, as you have been at the head of his

his armies in the field. His majesty's love for his subjects, and affection for you, may dispose him to hearken to that salutary advice from you, which is requisite to preserve his own honour and ease, your reputation and their welfare, though otherwise perhaps not agreeable to him.

“ Represent, good sir, the necessity of making peace, and the impossibility of doing it upon a safe foot, without the friendship and assistance of Prussia, and a separation of Spain from France.

“ But will our allies, especially the queen of Hungary, hearken to a guaranty of Silesia, although she is obliged to do it by treaty ; or to the least establishment for don Philip in Italy ; although it may save the rest of her dominions there, and recover all that France has conquered, and is like to conquer, which, in effect, will be no less than the whole continent. Good God ! how many millions has her resentment against Prussia, and pride with regard to Spain, cost this poor exhausted nation ! The English have already paid forty millions sterling in carrying on a ruinous war. They only fight, they only pay, not only the troops that are furnished, but for many more that are no where but upon paper ; and it is an undoubted truth, confirmed by the experience of many wars, that as long as others will find money, the Austrians will pretend to find men, and never think of peace ; I say never, if they are suffered to govern, as they have hitherto done, until they have killed the hen that has laid 'em so many golden eggs, and is already so worn out as to be at the last gasp.

“ It may be said that the Dutch, besides their unwillingness to enter into any confidence with Prussia, will now, animated and assisted by the talents and authority of a stadholder, exert a greater spirit and force for the recovery of their barrier than they did to defend it. This, to a certain degree, may be true ; and had the late revolution in Holland happen'd seven years ago, it might have been of singular benefit to the common cause. I have the honour to know the prince of Orange ; I respect and venerate him much : his parts, zeal, and ambition to serve the public are great ; and whatever his views are, they will be supported with strong and copious reasonings. But, I am afraid, his views are too extensive to be realised, and carried into action with success. The present condition of the republic, though ever so well intentioned, will not keep pace with his lively and eager imagination, nor enable him to execute
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what he may persevere in desiring with great earnestness and eloquence. The sensible, sedate, and best affected patriots in Holland may be silent, but they cannot be ignorant of this; and, knowing the state of their finances, and the imminent danger of their country, would readily promote a scheme of pacification under the prudent management of your royal highness; and the authority of his majesty might interpose, to decide and settle any difference of opinion, which a rivalry of glory, in serving the public, either by war or peace, might occasion between two young heroes, equally anxious for renown.

“ But I must still have recourse to the burthen of my song: pardon the disagreeable repetition! Prussia must be gained, not to carry on the war, that is too late, but to have the appearance of being able to carry it on, and to support a proper plan for a pacification. If the king of Prussia can be persuaded that the allies are sincere in desiring his friendship and assistance, he must be sensible it is his interest to have the future security for his present possessions from them. And your royal highness is the only person that can, vested with proper powers and authority, undertake and accomplish this great and necessary work. But if a peace with France must be made, cannot it be done without the friendship and help of the king of Prussia? I am afraid it cannot.

“ I have observed, by the public papers, that the bravery and conduct of your royal highness at the late battle, though obliged to retreat, made such an impression on marshal Saxe, that he intimated, by general Ligonier, some overtures of peace. I am inclined to believe it to be true, because I can easily conceive it to be for the honour and interest of count Saxe to do it; he is now crowned with glory; he is a foreigner, and a protestant, and not sparing of the French troops. He is consequently envied by the nobility, and hated by the people of France; any contretems, or unfortunate action to his army, might be his ruin, in serving a master whose affection and gratitude to a servant is governed by success only. I will therefore suppose that some overtures for a peace of a plausible nature, such as are most obvious, viz. the surrender of the Low Countries, for the restitution of Cape Breton, may have been in good earnest suggested by him to your royal highness, that they may be considered as a sufficient ground for a negotiation; yet, unless the king
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of Prussia is made beforehand our friend, and Spain be reconciled to us, this negotiation will end in nothing but disgrace to his majesty, and a most insecure peace to his subjects. For, can it be doubted, but France will, in the course of it, feel and make use of the advantage and weight she will have in acting in concert with Prussia and Spain? Can it be doubted, but, in order to keep up a coolness between his prussian majesty and the allies, and dependancy of that prince upon herself, she will demand a guarantee, from all the powers concerned, and from the empire, of the dominions in the possession of Prussia? And in order to prevent a strict union between England and Spain, and to obstruct an advantageous treaty of commerce with that crown in our favour, will not France demand for don Philip a greater establishment in Italy than their catholic majesties would now be contented to accept by his majesty's interest and influence? Will not these demands be as prevalent and irresistible in treating, as her arms have been in fighting? And will not the allies be forced to yield, with an ill grace, to those powers, what they might have had the merit and benefit of granting to them, by a reconciliation and friendship with them previous to a general negotiation for peace?

“As to Spain, I had an opportunity, last winter, of knowing, by an accident too long to explain, that the present king and queen are true Spaniards, and desirous of having a friendship with his majesty preferably to one with France, as being the mutual interest of both nations; for some domestick reasons, they will have don Philip kept at a distance. The queen consort, who has the chief credit, cannot suffer him to return to his employments in Spain, and interfere with her in the councils there. For that reason she must and will insist upon an establishment for him, though ever so small, in Italy, and would rejoice to owe the obligation for it to the king. This I thought it my duty to let his majesty know, the king seemed extremely pleased with the intelligence*; but as he communicated it to none of his ministers, and no step was taken in consequence of it, I let it drop; and I mention it to your royal highness only to let you see that the disposition of the present government of Spain is favourable to England; and I could indicate the means that might be taken

* The letter to which Mr. Walpole alludes, and the king's answer, are printed in Chapter 29.

taken to confirm it, if it is worth having; and without it I apprehend that the most beneficial branch of our trade will be but loosely settled, and very precarious, on account of the obligations and attachment of Spain to France.

“ I would gladly be convinced that an additional strength might be had, and, from the assistance of this new and well-affected parliament, an extraordinary effort might be made, without having recourse to the friendship of Prussia, so as to render your royal highness superior to the French in another campaign; but it is a most vain imagination to think it possible. Words and votes only, will not make men; nay, it is plain that money will not. I am afraid that little more than words can be had from the Austrians, or from our good friends the Dutch, beyond what you have hitherto had; your royal highness will have plenty of them from both, supported with strong assurances on one side, and voluminous ratiocination on the other. But where are the additional means? It will be said, perhaps, from Russia; I think I shewed you last year how fruitless our expectations are from that quarter; the same reasons still subsist, which it is unnecessary for me to repeat; but only to observe, that Prussia and Sweden will keep the czarina *en echec*, and Denmark will be frightened into their measures, at least will not dare to oppose them; and every step taken by his majesty on that side, with such a view, will make his affairs worse, and give him new apprehensions in the North. This is so visible now, and has been constantly so, that I wonder the hanoverian ministers have not employed their utmost dexterity and credit, for the sake of their own country, to procure a perfect good understanding between his majesty and the king of Prussia.

“ There has not, I believe, been, since the revolution, a parliament better affected, than that now chosen, to support his majesty, and the present happy establishment, to defend the liberty of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, and strengthen the hands of your royal highness, that you may be, as king William was, our glorious deliverer. But, pray, sir, consider the immense debt that has been contracted since the beginning of this war; the many millions that have been given, without being able to stop the rapid progress of the french arms, or to reap any other benefit but that of being honourably beaten. Ten millions

lions were granted and employed this year with no better success hitherto; and with the deficiency that is like to be, it may be necessary to demand, when the parliament meets, twelve millions, (but where and how to find it, God knows,) double of the sum granted in any of the former wars, purely to answer the present charges of the war, without the appearance of an additional force to give the people hopes of carrying it on with greater advantage, or the least prospect of an approaching peace. Notwithstanding the good affection of this parliament, this melancholy aspect will occasion melancholy reflections, and heavy hearts, even among the best intentioned.

“ In the mean time our good and gracious king, while too great caution is used to say nothing but what is agreeable to him, will suddenly see the bad situation of his affairs, and must and will grow extremely uneasy; and there are those * who are supposed to have a secret credit, although no places at court, that will perceive and take advantage of this uneasiness. They will (not presuming to point out the true cause of our misfortunes, nor suggest the proper remedies,) attribute them, by artful insinuations and whispers, to the weakness, mismanagement, and irresolution of the ministry, which will be publicly echoed from another quarter†, even to the disadvantage of your royal highness, and will have, on account of our distresses, a mischievous effect in the nation. And I am sorry to say it, but I really apprehend, that within two sessions the best of parliaments will be in the greatest confusion, unless it is evident that the vast sums they must grant will tend to procure a reasonable peace. Now, such a peace cannot be procured without the appearance of an additional strength on our side, and a diminution of that of our great enemy; that strength and diminution cannot be procured without an alliance immediately made with Prussia, and a reconciliation with Spain. If these things cannot be obtained, we shall be undone by a ruinous war, or by a peace that will prove equally ruinous, which is too obvious, but too melancholy a subject to dwell any longer upon.

“ My over-officious zeal may have made me more importunate than becomes me; but as I have no malice, spleen, nor ambition, which generally make objects appear in a wrong light; and I have no particular
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* Lord Granville.

† Prince of Wales.

view to serve, I can have none ; for I want nothing, and desire nothing, but to see his majesty happy, your royal highness glorious, and this free nation safe and free ; I hope this last and long trouble, well intentioned, if mistaken, will meet, if not with a favourable reception, yet at least with forgiveness."

Feeling, as the duke of Cumberland did, from experience, the truth of these arguments, this forcible letter could not fail of making some impression ; although the delicacy of his situation, and the inflexibility of the king, would not permit him to adopt or acknowledge them. But the strength of Mr. Walpole's conviction, and his persevering zeal, are proved by his expressions in a letter to his friend Mr. Yorke, to whom he had imparted some remarks on the subject, and who had requested his permission to communicate them to the chancellor.

" I could have no objection to your communicating my thoughts where you think proper ; but my last wanted some digestion. As to the notions contained in it, I am persuaded they are true, and the only ones, *rebus sic stantibus*, that can save Europe and England ; and therefore I think that those who are in their proper stations, and have the proper opportunity, should overcome the aversion, by pressing them with earnestness and unwearied repetition.

" What would you say to a physician, who is convinced that a certain remedy may (and it is the only remedy that can,) save his patient, and will not advise it or order it, because it is disagreeable to the humour or taste of his patient ? A minister that knowingly gives his master advice that will infallibly destroy him, is, I think, a traitor ; and can he be absolutely free from a sort of treason, that knows what will save his master from ruin, and that nothing else can, and has not courage to propose and advise it ; and even to pursue that advice, at all hazards, because he finds an aversion to it* ?"

The naval successes of England, however, had, during this year, in some measure contributed to counterbalance the misfortunes of the allies by land. Two french squadrons, destined against our settlements in America and the West Indies, with a large convoy of merchant ships, were defeated, and almost wholly captured ; the first by Anson and Warren,

* Mr. Walpole to Mr. Yorke, Oct. 19, 1747.

Warren, and the second by Hawke. These signal successes, and the happy revolution in the government of the United Provinces, were the principal topics of the king's speech to the new parliament, which assembled on the 10th of November, and vied with the former in its loyalty, and in granting aid for the vigorous prosecution of the war; in addition to the former subsidies, 317,881 l. were voted for 30,000 russian auxiliaries, who had begun their march towards the Low Countries.

Soon after the return of the duke of Cumberland, Mr. Walpole transmitted to him a third letter, recapitulating and enforcing his former arguments, inclosing a plan of a negotiation for peace. In this effusion, adverting to the spirited support of parliament, and the inefficiency of the combined forces, he observes, "Our armies are beaten in summer, which makes it vain to treat them with the hopes of tolerable conditions from a victorious enemy. In winter, the proper season for negotiation, finding great sums ready to be furnished by the people, and voted by the parliament, our spirits are raised, and we grow sanguine. National plans for augmentation of troops, and successful operations, are formed upon paper, and then truly it is unnecessary and mean to treat with an enemy that will soon be at our mercy; when, alas! their too numerous and irresistible efforts, the next campaign, cruelly disappoint our imaginary hopes. And thus we are carried on, from year to year, in a circle of delusion, while the French continue their conquests without the least probability of our stopping their progress: they are almost masters of the continent; and what will be the fatal consequence of that, with respect to this country, is what I tremble to think of.

"Peace, then, seems to be the only object for our safety. Must we therefore, for the sake of peace, withdraw our forces from the continent, leave Holland to become a prey to France, and trust to our wooden walls? No, by no means; we should exert ourselves to the utmost by land, to have the best army that can be got under your royal highness's command; but, at the same time, endeavour to procure the friendship of some powerful prince, which can be had, it is evident, from no other part of the world but from Prussia, to act in conjunction with us against France, if that was possible. But as that, I am afraid, cannot be expected, to concur with the maritime powers in obtaining reasonable terms
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of peace from that crown, and for that purpose to frame a plan of preliminaries to be supported by his prussian majesty's weight and strength."

After stating the objections to the preliminaries, arising from the opposition of the austrian cabinet, he adds: "But must the liberties of Europe be given up to France for the stubbornness of the house of Austria, founded upon bigotry, pride and vengeance, and even upon infidelity to their own engagements? Must the rest of the allies, and especially this country, go on to be exhausted by spending the last farthing to no purpose, and to bring themselves to the brink of ruin, rather than contradict the imperious and vindictive temper of the house of Austria? Surely a proper and serious representation from his majesty, to the queen of Hungary, would induce her to act agreeably to her own interest, to common sense and reason, and to do no more than what is absolutely necessary to save Europe; especially if such representation be accompanied with the condition, *sine quâ non*, for granting any more subsidies; for subsidies granted any longer are absolutely flung away without gaining the friendship of the king of Prussia."

He concludes: "Were these my thoughts only, I should not presume to importune your royal highness so often upon so disagreeable a subject; but I am told that what I urge so earnestly is the sense of all the ministers that have access and audience on foreign affairs in the closet, except one; is the sense of all the confidants, friends and relations of that person, both in and out of parliament; is the sense of all the well-affected throughout the whole nation; and, I am afraid, sooner or later, contrary to my own opinion, may be proposed this session in parliament, without the consent of the ministry and court, if they do not think fit to take the lead in doing it themselves; and the consequence of that may be, in appearance, a breach between the king and his parliament, which may end in confusion at home, and hasten the destruction that threatens abroad."

CHAPTER 32.

1747.

Conference with the Duke of Cumberland—Correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle—Unexpected Signature of the Preliminaries—Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

FINDING all representations in favour of an alliance with Prussia ineffectual, and convinced that every moment's delay was big with danger, Mr. Walpole determined to urge his advice in person. He accordingly obtained an interview with the duke of Cumberland, in which he held a long conference, and detailed, in a manly but respectful manner, all the arguments which he had employed in writing. He instantly penned a narrative of the conference, which reflects high honour on the abilities and candour of the duke, and his own spirit and integrity to speak truth, however unwelcome. I am happy to be able to lay this interesting account before the reader.

“The substance of a conference I had with his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, December 20, 1747, at his lodgings in Saint James's-court :

“Odium veritas parit.”

“That evening, at seven o'clock, I waited upon the duke of Cumberland, pursuant to a message I received from his royal highness by Sir Everard Fawkener in the morning.

“I thought it my duty to begin the conversation with begging his royal highness's pardon for having taken the liberty to importune him so much and so often, by letters, with my reflections upon the great and critical juncture of affairs, which nothing should have induced me to have done but my anxiety and concern for his majesty's honour, the glory of his royal highness, the preservation of the liberties of Europe, and of our happy constitution, under the settlement of the present royal family, which seemed to be at stake.

“His

“ His royal highness was pleased to accept of my apology in the most obliging manner, accompanied with many kind expressions with regard to my zeal for the government, and long experience in foreign affairs. He then proceeded to observe, (occasioned, I suppose, by my seeming to doubt in my third letter of the complement of the austrian troops last year in Flanders,) that they were near 60,000 men, reckoning the whole time of the last campaign, and touched upon the different corps that were to compose his army the next; naming the Austrians, Russians, Swiss and Dutch, besides the english troops and others to be in the pay of his majesty and the states. But he never once affirmed, with any assurance, that he depended upon having a sufficient force to attack and resist the arms of France; and therefore I avoided to enter into a particular discussion on that subject, taking only some notice of the still weak and unsettled state of the Dutch, of the difficulty and distance in getting the Russians and Swiss time enough to be of service this year in the field. But I stated in short my thoughts; that, considering the formidable power and success of his enemies, it did not seem possible to put an end to this war with honour and safety, without procuring a friendship and alliance with the king of Prussia; and I pointed at the only means for obtaining that prince’s assistance, in order to bring about a more honourable and secure peace than could be expected from the generosity of France; retouching what is more fully set forth in my letters on that head.

“ His royal highness told me he entirely agreed as to the measure, but differed with me as to the means I had proposed, and he then opened his own sentiments to me in the following manner: His majesty’s ministers should, in their turns, recommend the king to set on foot a negotiation with Prussia; a person should be sent to Berlin, entirely agreeable to his majesty, that this affair should not be brusqué, but followed step by step. The instructions of the ministers to be employed at that court, should tend to shew that the family alliance, the protestant religion, and their mutual interest, made it desirable to restore and establish a friendship between the two crowns, and so proceed in general terms and with proper address to lay a foundation for a reconciliation and a good understanding; which his royal highness set forth in expressions adapted to answer that end.

“ As

“As I plainly perceived that he was prepared to talk in this plausible, and indeed as he delivered his sentiments in the most agreeable way to me, I acquiesced in his general notion, as conformable to mine, without coming directly to the main point; and that his plan of instructions to the minister designed for Berlin, went no farther than what are usual in ordinary cases, for settling an amity between two courts; and seemed by no means calculated to make the king of Prussia sensible of his majesty’s most earnest and sincere desire to have his assistance in the present desperate situation of affairs, with respect to war or peace. I then, with great submission, let his royal highness know, that, considering how long and how great an aversion had been contracted, and still prevailed in a certain place, towards his prussian majesty, I was doubtful whether bare suggestions, or verbal intimations, in the closet, by his majesty’s ministers in their turns, in favour of that prince, would make such an impression as might have the desired effect; and whether general instructions to the minister for Berlin, conceived only in the usual form and terms of friendship, to reconcile two courts that had been so exasperated against one another, would answer soon enough the salutary and necessary views proposed in this great and most pressing exigency. And unless a representation should be made in writing, by the joint concurrence of all the ministers, and laid before the king at large, of the desperate state of things, and the only remedy that can possibly save Europe and this nation, for his majesty’s serious consideration, as is more fully explained in my letters to his royal highness, I was apprehensive that nothing effectual would be done. It had been observed, I said, by some, with great concern, that when a lord Granville was to be removed on account of his extraordinary credit and power with his majesty, a strong representation, pretended to be founded upon the dangerous schemes and measures pursued by him, was, by the unanimous agreement of all the ministers, drawn up and laid before the king, accompanied with a resolution to resign their employments, rather than to continue to serve with so rash and enterprising a minister. But now things are brought to the greatest extremities, and to the very precipice of ruin, by pursuing, as it is generally thought, the same destructive schemes; the very same mi-

nisters dare not let his majesty see, in a proper light, his real and imminent danger, nor suggest to him the only steps, in all appearance, that can possibly be followed to obviate and divert it.

“ His royal highness, with great readiness and skill, replied : ‘ How little soever concerned he might be at the removal of the earl of Granville, he could by no means approve the method that was taken for that purpose ; a combination of the ministry in making such representation, and the displacing of one that his majesty looked upon as an able and good servant ; he thought was a hard, and by no means a dutiful behaviour towards the king, and such a one as he hoped he should never see practised again.’

“ I replied : ‘ I am afraid I did not express myself so as to be rightly understood. What I said was meant by way of comparison only with respect to the two cases ; of the removal of a minister, and of saving this nation : and therefore it appeared extraordinary to some that so strong a resolution and perseverance should be shewn in the face of the king, to make him part with a favourite servant, by those who would not venture now to make his majesty sensible of the revolution that seemed to threaten the continent, and perhaps this country ; nor to point out the sole remedy that can avert our impending fate. I by no means approved the brisk and peremptory treatment of the king in the first case ; but what I had proposed with regard to the present situation of affairs, contained nothing of that nature. A deduction, in plain dutiful and submissive terms, of the true state of things, should be laid before his majesty in a clear view, so as to let him see, (and his majesty could not, if that was done, but see,) upon mature reflection, the destruction that, like a torrent, was ready to overwhelm all Europe, from the irresistible arms of France ; and that the king of Prussia was the only power that could stem this terrible storm, by his intervention and concurrence with his majesty, in procuring more reasonable terms of peace than can possibly be hoped for from the mercy of France. I said, with great deference, such an honest representation as this, far from being indecent or offensive, was at this great crisis the duty of ministers to make, in order to give their master the most salutary advice, and what had been often practised by faithful servants. Memorials, in such dangerous junctures, from subjects that were not
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called upon to do it by their stations, even in arbitrary governments, have been well received by their sovereigns. I added, that the late incomparable queen, his royal mother, would, in matters of great moment, suffer me to speak and write freely my mind to her, (though not conformable to her's,) without the least reproach or offence; and therefore his royal highness entirely mistook me, if he apprehended that I meant to have any step taken that should seem hard or shocking to the king. But the ministers should dutifully lay his true case before him, and humbly but steadily suggest the best counsel, although it might not be altogether so agreeable to the king as was to be wished.'

"As I often took an occasion to beg his royal highness's pardon for the liberty and earnestness with which I supported my notions, I urged, for an excuse, that they were not only mine, but were so obvious as to be universal. Every body, I said, in all parts, and of all ranks, that are well affected to the government, cry aloud for the help of Prussia, in one shape or other; and I apprehend, if an occasion is not taken by the court to propose this measure to the parliament, for their concurrence and support, it may be started there from some other quarter, without the privity of the ministers.

"His royal highness was much affected with this surmise, and seemed to think that things of this kind should by no means be agitated in parliament, intimating, (as I apprehended by way of reproach to me, although in very civil terms,) that the frequent discourses held by some on this subject, might give an occasion for such a thought. I immediately replied, in justification of myself, that I looked upon such motion, unless it should take its rise from the court, to be liable to the greatest objections, and, instead of having the desired effect, might produce nothing but confusion, both at home and abroad, by creating in appearance a difference between the king and this well-affected parliament.

"I then begged leave to acquaint his royal highness, in great confidence, that a very considerable member* of the house, (who does not care to be named,) extremely useful, and zealous for the means necessary to carry on the war, no particular friend of mine, and with whom I never had any transaction in business, (he having been formerly in the strongest

* Sir John Barnard.

est opposition to the late lord Orford,) took lately an occasion to express to me, privately, his great anxiety at the melancholy prospect of affairs; he had done all in his power in support of the common cause against France; but that he did not see how it was possible to go any farther; that, besides the ruin which threatened the nation, he could not be without his personal uneasiness on account of the reproach, that, without a peace, might be retorted upon himself, who had been so much concerned in laying such heavy loads upon his fellow-subjects, and by new taxes, though necessary, yet very disagreeable to them. I asked him, I added, his opinion, what was proper to be done in so calamitous a case? He immediately replied, No time should be lost to gain the friendship of Prussia, and to detach Spain from France. I rejoined, with a smile, When persons conversant in business, though not intimate with one another, would turn their thoughts to the same thing, without a particular bias or prevention, they would generally agree in the same opinion, as I now did entirely with him, having made the same reflections to others upon the present state of affairs. This led us into a detail of the method to be pursued for compassing these ends: the point relating to Spain appeared more desirable than practicable; but that with respect to Prussia he thought not difficult, if the court would bring it before parliament, to be approved and enforced by the house in a proper manner. He added, I am no rash or hasty man, being always desirous to act with prudence and moderation; but this thing is of such a nature, and of such importance for the salvation of the whole, that if there is an insuperable aversion to it in a certain place, and the ministers want help, the parliament should undertake the affair, in order to strengthen their hands. I replied, Such a remedy might be almost as bad as the disease; it would answer no end but that of confusion, and I could never give my consent to proceed in that way.

“ I observed to his royal highness, These are the sentiments of a great member, who had of late appeared most earnest and serviceable in supporting the king's measures; and although I concurred in his sentiments, yet I will strenuously oppose any step in the house upon this great affair without a previous concert with the court, that the king might have the merit of being the first mover. I concluded with observing to his royal high-

highness, if it took its rise from thence, it would be the most popular act that ever was done by the crown ; repeating again to him, that if it was deferred or neglected, it would be brought forwards, sooner or later, by somebody or other ; and if such a popular motion should be made from a certain corner *, and conducted with prudence, I left his royal highness to judge what might be the consequence of it, as the royal family is now unhappily constituted.

“ His royal highness often repeated his approbation of the measure ; but still persisted to think that softer means should be used, seeming by no means inclined to have a thing of that nature brought before the house in any shape, which he accompanied with some expressions that gave me more uneasiness than I thought proper to discover.

“ As I had observed, in my last letter, that there was but one person in the administration against this expedient, and that all his friends and relations were for it, (which his royal highness looked upon as pointed at the duke of Newcastle,) he took an occasion to say, in his justification, that his grace had mentioned to the king an alliance with Prussia oftener than any other of the ministers, and differed with me only in the means to procure it. To which I took the liberty to reply, I have talked with several persons in the confidence and intimacy of the duke of Newcastle upon this subject, all of whom agreed in the utility as well as the necessity of pursuing what I suggested ; but when they applied afterwards to his grace with great earnestness, they let me know, with much concern, that some steps perhaps, to save appearances, might be taken, but nothing effectual would be done. With great submission, I then said, while his grace affected to be for a measure, (which was so universally liked that nobody could pretend to declare against it,) yet if he opposed the only means that could be employed to make it succeed, it was the same thing as if he opposed the measure ; and I could not forbear adding, would the ministers occasionally only mention this expedient to the king, without explaining the motives and necessity of it, in its full extent, so as to expose the danger in not following it, and when the fatal day should overtake this poor nation, disculpate themselves by such a slight and transient way of starting advice, and let the blame fall upon his

* The party of the prince of Wales.

his majesty, it would be a most cruel and unjustifiable behaviour of servants towards their royal master.

“ Finding that I made but little impression with respect to the means for procuring the king of Prussia’s friendship and help, I took the liberty to lay before him, in the strongest light, the fatal consequences of our present deplorable state, observing, that before the last rebellion, in 1745, the royal family was not very popular in the nation. That event, having afforded an opportunity to his royal highness, (whose character was not so well known till that time,) to exert his extraordinary talents for the safety of the king and kingdom, had reinstated his majesty in the hearts of his people; and his royal highness’s superior courage and conduct, though hitherto unsuccessful abroad, had gained him great glory. But the progress of the french conquests, and the consequences apprehended from it, had now created a general alarm in the kingdom, and as there was no prospect of his having a sufficient force to beat or resist the french army the ensuing campaign, should any disgrace happen to his royal highness, or France be able to penetrate into the provinces of the States, fear and despondency would possess the minds of the people, even of the best affected to the government. And as the apprehension of immediate misery and ruin usually out-balances the memory of past services and merit, I was afraid there would not be wanting some who, laying hold of the general panic, would be wicked enough to endeavour to tarnish, though unjustly, the reputation of his royal highness himself. In the mean time, clamours, increasing with the danger, would be loud against the administration, for not having advised the only means of salvation; and the ministers, to vindicate themselves, would cast the blame upon his majesty, by whispering abroad their pitiful efforts to dispose his majesty to gain the king of Prussia, as if they had really exerted themselves as became them for that purpose. By this means the cause of our misfortunes would be laid upon his majesty; his royal highness’s great services, in having saved this nation, would be forgot, and the affection of the people might be shaken; and when these two pillars of our present happy establishment should be weakened, I much questioned whether the remaining part of the family would be popular enough to uphold the tottering fabric.

“ After

“ After a pause, and begging pardon for the liberty I was going to take, I begged his royal highness to consider what might be the consequence if universal calamity and distress should overspread the nation, and the whole royal family should become unpopular, in not being able to afford the least hopes of redress and safety ; might not the intolerable smart, as mankind is made, of present grievances, outweigh the duty of unprofitable loyalty and allegiance, and dispose the nobility and gentry, hurried on by despair, to seek refuge even where destruction threatened ; and, finding no other resource to save their persons, families and estates, make their peace and terms with the pretender ? However absurd such a compromise may appear, it was formerly negotiated (though disappointed by an extraordinary accident,) in the reign of our glorious deliverer king William ; and may God avert it ! But what has been, may be again attempted ; and perhaps with greater success, where the motives and grounds may be thought stronger.

“ His royal highness, without making any reply for some time, seemed sensibly affected with this remarkable reflection. However, recovering himself, he still persevered in shewing an indisposition to the most material parts of the scheme for gaining the king of Prussia ; willing to have a minister sent to Berlin with general instructions for settling a good understanding between the two courts, but not to have the affair brought in any shape into the house of commons.

“ He was then pleased to ask me, who I thought might be the most proper person to be employed there ? intimating, that although Sir Everard Fawkener had been named, his appointment was not absolutely fixed. I told him the person was not of such weight and consideration as the powers and authority to be given him. On his repeating this question, I said, I believe I could, if I might take that liberty, name a person ; and then, with excuses for my freedom, I expressed my wishes that his royal highness himself, under colour of making a visit to the army in Flanders, would from thence take a trip to Berlin, not doubting but his presence and address at that court would effectually answer all our desires. I believe, in the course of our conversation, I recommended that journey to his royal highness three times ; he did not appear offended, but

but shook his head, without making any reply, which I think I understood but too well.

“ At last he hinted that I might be mistaken in my notions of the king of Prussia, and it might not be so easy to gain him as I imagined. I said, I could not, indeed, and would not be answerable for that ; but being convinced of the melancholy state of our affairs, of the irresistible power of France, and that there could be no other possible way to save Europe, and this nation, but by the friendship and assistance of that prince, I thought the attempt should be made in the manner most likely to succeed. But I must add, at the same time, in justification of myself, that, in case some superficial steps should be taken only to save appearances, and what might prove the most effectual should be omitted, it was no longer my scheme ; for he that proposes a remedy for a most desperate case, is not answerable for the success, if the most material parts of the ingredients should be left out.

“ His royal highness often mentioned the queen of Hungary with great affection and regard, and that we should do nothing to disoblige her. I agreed with him in that opinion, provided her behaviour was consistent with our own safety, assuring him that this scheme was by no means pointed to give the least offence to her hungarian majesty ; but things were come to that extremity, that the houses of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the maritime powers, all joined together, are no more than barely sufficient to check and prevent the universal monarchy of France.

“ After an hour and a half’s conversation I took my leave of his royal highness, extremely pleased with the affable manner in which he received and heard my free conference ; but as much concerned to find that I had made no greater impression upon him to induce him to concur in the means for the execution of a measure which he could not but own was necessary, and the only one that could be suggested to procure a tolerable peace ; there not being the least prospect of his being able to make a successful campaign.

“ Upon the whole, no prince appears to have been ever endowed with greater talents ; can have a better understanding, or a quicker apprehension ; can have a more engaging or agreeable way in delivering his own,

or

or hearing the sentiments of others ; nor greater skill and ability to parry what he does not relish, or to support his own way of thinking. When I reflect upon all that passed ; his royal highness's own confession of the great uncertainty at least of his having an army sufficient to withstand the French ; his devoted attachment to the house of Austria ; his visible preference of the duke of Newcastle to all the rest of the ministers, there seems to be something unintelligible and mysterious in this affair between his royal highness and the duke of Newcastle, which I can no otherwise account for but in the following manner :

“ The duke of Newcastle, although he cried aloud for peace while the earl of Granville was prime, is now as earnest for carrying on the war, without any other consideration than that of thinking he acts agreeably to his majesty's inclination, with whom he is resolved at any rate to gain and preserve the chief credit and power ; being perhaps apprehensive, too, that his slippery power may depend in some measure upon the continuation of the war. At the same time the duke of Cumberland's great soul will not suffer him to think of peace without endeavouring to take his revenge of the French, and therefore seems resolved, at all hazards, even that of his own person, to try the fate of another campaign. The house of Austria will never think of peace as long as she has the least hopes of getting subsidies to carry on the war ; and cannot bear the thoughts of having the possession of Silesia guarantied by the powers of Europe to the king of Prussia, without which it is impossible to gain that prince. And as his intervention might be a means to procure a peace, and a serious attempt to gain him would disoblige the queen of Hungary, and not be very agreeable to the king, his royal highness and his grace act in concert to disappoint this measure ; and God knows what may be the consequence of this disappointment, without a special interposition of his providence.”

Notwithstanding this unsuccessful termination of the conference with the duke of Cumberland, Mr. Walpole persevered in his endeavours ; and, finding the power of the duke of Newcastle predominant in the cabinet, he undertook the arduous task of swaying a person of his jealous disposition, who was anxious to ingratiate himself with the sovereign by an implicit adoption of his system in the conduct of the war, and had recently sacrificed lord Harrington to the king's dislike, by acquiescing in his dismissal from the office of secretary of state. He not

only submitted to the lord chancellor his letters to the duke of Cumberland, accompanied with the most urgent expostulations to use his influence over the duke of Newcastle; but he likewise communicated them to Mr. Stone, and requested an interview with the duke, with an intention to deliver them, and urge his arguments in person. Mr. Stone expressed the highest satisfaction in the perusal, and "hoped they could not fail to have some impression on the personage to whom they were addressed;" but prudently insinuated, that the paragraph in the third letter, relating to the duke of Newcastle, was too strong and personal, and might be omitted without prejudice to the main argument. The duke, being on the point of setting out for Claremont, deferred the interview till his return, and desired the communication of the papers which Mr. Walpole transmitted; but, with the frankness natural to his character, did not erase the offensive paragraph. The duke returned the papers, with a letter vindicating his own conduct, by asserting that he had first suggested the necessity of an alliance with Prussia, which had produced the treaties of Breslaw and Dresden, and that he was equally anxious to conciliate the king of Spain. Alluding to the offensive paragraph, he adds, "I cannot conclude without lamenting my misfortune, that you should be so little apprised of the state of our affairs at court, as to impute to me singly, a difference of opinion with all my relations, confidants, and friends, as to Prussia; when, I believe, I am the only person who has of late ventured to open his mouth upon that subject to his majesty. I have done it in the manner I thought dutiful to him, and right to the public. This much I thought necessary to say, in my own vindication, upon a fact which I am persuaded you was not acquainted with*."

These remarks extorted from Mr. Walpole a bitter and animated reply:

"My Lord,

Cockpit, Dec. 28, 1747.

"I received, with the papers returned to me by Mr. Stone, the honour of a letter from your grace, in which you are pleased to acquaint me, that no one servant of the king has more contributed towards getting Prussia and Spain than yourself. I will not dispute with your grace that point; but I cannot agree that your having suggested and persevered in advising the treaty with Prussia, that was concluded at Hanover, was necessarily followed by that of Dresden.

"The

* The duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, Cockpit, Dec. 28, 1747.

“ The first of those treaties was made in 1745, after the king of Prussia had beat, the first time, prince Charles of Lorraine and the duke of Saxe Weissenfelt ; and it was certainly a very prudent step for stopping the king of Prussia from turning his arms towards the electorate of Hanover. But, after that apprehension was over, I am afraid no serious endeavours were used from hence to induce the queen of Hungary to come to a reconciliation with the king of Prussia. No, my lord ; if I remember right, she persevered ; instead of acting in concert with the allies against France, to employ the forces maintained by our subsidies, to satisfy her vengeance against Prussia ; and the treaty of Dresden was not concluded until the Austrians and Saxons had been vanquished again in two battles ; and after the conclusion of that treaty, the court of Vienna refused, and still continues to refuse, to execute that material article for procuring the guaranty of the diet of the empire for his prussian possessions in Silesia. The fatal consequences of these proceedings, which gave the French an opportunity to conquer that year a great part of the Low Countries, and to finish that conquest the next year, are so fully set forth in my first letter to his royal highness, that I need not repeat them to your grace ; nor need I mention the considerable sums this nation has paid, and will, I am afraid, still pay, on account of imaginary fears of the king of Prussia. But the case is, we bear an ill-will towards that prince, which we can’t conceal ; we are apprehensive that ill-will may occasion resentment, and so must be at a great expence to guard against that resentment ; when a proper application might have obtained his friendship, had the intimations he flung out been laid hold of and pursued.

“ As to Spain, I don’t pretend to know what steps have been taken to detach that court from France ; but sure I am, that, since the death of the late king, their present catholic majesties have been favourably disposed towards us ; were it possible to procure such an establishment in Italy for don Philip, as would keep him from returning to Spain. This is, I own, a difficult point ; and whether it has been pressed to our allies in a manner suitable to the importance and exigency of affairs, I can’t pretend to tell.

“ Far be it from me to suggest that we should make a separate peace

with Spain. But, my dear lord, it is visible to all the world, that we do not speak to our allies with regard to war or peace in a style that necessity and our misfortunes call upon us to do, and the vast and insupportable expences of this country will authorise and justify our doing; but our allies will employ their troops which we pay, just as they please, and we dare not touch upon peace in a manner that becomes us, nor give the least attention to terms offered by France, for fear of their displeasure. I could say a great deal upon this subject, and particularly with regard to the difference between your grace's way of thinking and acting since the removal of the earl of Granville, and your thoughts and actions relative to peace and war before his removal: the reasons are obvious for this alteration; you stand in his place.

“As to your grace's concern at my being so little apprised of the state of affairs at court, as to impute to you, ‘singly, a difference of opinion with all your relations, confidants and friends as to Prussia, whereas you are the only person who has ventured to open his mouth upon that subject to his majesty, and you have done it in the manner you thought dutiful to him and right to the public;’ I will not contest that fact. I intended no offence; but what I meant by what I said in the fullness of my heart, was, that having talked the substance of what I wrote to the duke of Cumberland, to some persons in the greatest intimacy and confidence with your grace, they concurred with me in every respect, as to the utility, and even necessity of procuring and settling a friendship with the king of Prussia, and of pursuing the means proposed in those letters, as the only way to obtain that salutary end; and, in consequence, by that prince's assistance, more reasonable terms of peace than can possibly be expected from the enemy, who has hitherto been, and in all appearance must continue to be victorious. And some of those persons, after having earnestly discoursed with your grace on that subject, have, with the greatest anxiety and despair, given me to understand that some steps might be taken to save appearances, but nothing would be effectually done.

“I don't doubt but your grace has mentioned this measure, in a certain place, in the most dutiful manner; but, as little as I know the court, I much doubt whether the barely mentioning it by conversation only, in that place, will prove a benefit to the public; and I hinted, when I sent you

you the papers, the reason why I thought such a transient intimation, in the closet, of a measure that is not of itself agreeable there, would not succeed, so as to enable you to pursue it with efficacy.

“ God forbid that I should think of, or promote, the doing any thing there in an undutiful manner ! but this is a matter of such importance, that should be represented at large, and may be done with equal duty and submission, in a way that may afford time and leisure for the serious considerations of the imminent danger that threatens the liberties of Europe and this country ; of the only remedy, that, humanly speaking, can save them, and how that remedy should be applied. An extensive and clear deduction of these things might make such an impression as might produce the desired effect ; but in all events our case is so desperate, that it should at least be attempted ; and as your grace evidently takes the lead in every thing, and is in a manner the prime, should you heartily declare for this measure, and the means suggested to bring it about, I don’t question but that your fellow-servants would readily concur with you in it, who at present are thought to be kept at a distance and in awe of your power, for fear of lord Harrington’s fate. For although your grace seems to approve the measure, yet if you can’t bring yourself to come into the only means that will make it succeed, it is the same thing as if you opposed the measure. And, pray, my lord, do not deceive yourself, in thinking you can deceive others, by making amusements pass for realities ; it may skin over the sore for the present, but it will fester more grievously within, and at last may prove an incurable mortification.

“ To conclude ; if your grace is in earnest for the expedient, in getting the affection and help of the king of Prussia to extricate us out of the present deplorable condition, you are in this respect the most unfortunate person in the opinion of mankind. Your grace loved popularity once ; and if you are in earnest, why not take the most effectual way to get it, by sending a proper minister, properly instructed, to gain that prince’s friendship and affection ? And in a convenient time, as a strong proof of our sincerity, and of his own security, why should not the crown have the merit and glory in taking the lead to have it moved (for it will be the most popular motion that was ever made there,) in parliament, for
their

their concurrence and support? For your grace may depend upon it, that sooner or later this matter will be stirred there, although entirely against my opinion, unless it takes its rise from the court. And I have heard, that within these two days it has been agitated in a certain quarter*, and should such a motion be started in the house, from that side, I leave your grace to judge of the consequences and confusion it must occasion.

“ I have done ; and with the compliments of the year, I wish your grace a more successful conduct in the management of our affairs, than we have seen for some years past : and I will give you this additional satisfaction, to assure you that I will never trouble your grace, or *any body else*, with my political reflections ; but shall attend my duty in the house, and expect there, with the rest of the well-affected senators, my fate from the mercy of the Gauls. I am, with all due respect, &c.”

These repeated assaults seem to have perplexed the duke of Newcastle, and finally made some impression in the closet. A rupture between the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham nearly ensued. Lord Gower, to whom Mr. Walpole also submitted his opinion, and the other independent members of the cabinet, supported Mr. Pelham ; apprehensions were seriously entertained that a motion would be made in parliament inimical to the system of foreign affairs ; the dread of the rebellion having subsided, the party of the prince of Wales began to collect their force, and threaten opposition ; and the duke of Cumberland, convinced that no efficient army could be raised to re-conquer the Netherlands, or even to resist the progress of the French in Holland, began to adopt more pacific sentiments.

Fortunately, at this period, the french cabinet made new overtures of accommodation, at the very moment when Maestricht was on the point of surrendering, and “ when,” to use the expressions of Mr. Walpole, “ they might in three weeks time more have been masters of the whole seventeen provinces in the Low Countries, and consequently of the maritime ports and continent from the Texel to Bayonne, and have dictated at the Hague, or Amsterdam, terms of peace at the good-will and pleasure of their arbitrary and invincible monarch†.”

The king, in his speech from the throne, adverted to these overtures,
and

* Leicester-house. † Mr. Walpole’s “ Motives for signing the Preliminaries.”

and to the meeting of a congress at Aix-la-chapelle, for settling the terms of pacification; but in such a manner as indicated little hopes of success. So that the unexpected signature of the preliminaries by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, which happened at Aix-la-chapelle on the 30th of April, created no less satisfaction than surprise.

Mr. Walpole had the sensible gratification of seeing his former secretary and friend, now Sir Thomas Robinson, joint plenipotentiary with the earl of Sandwich, to conclude the general pacification. The terms of the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle were highly favourable to the maritime powers, as France relinquished all her conquests in the Low Countries, for the restitution of Cape Breton. The house of Austria was alone dissatisfied with the dismemberment of Silesia and the country of Glatz, which was guaranteed to the king of Prussia; with the loss of Parma and Placentia, which were settled on don Philip, and the cession of some districts in the Milanese to the king of Sardinia.

Thus, after an immense expence of blood and treasure, ended a war, in which Great Britain and France gained nothing but the experience of each other's strength and power. France perceived the riches and perseverance of Great Britain to be much greater than she had imagined; and Great Britain became sensible that the power of France, acting in the Low Countries, and in her own neighbourhood, was irresistible. The commercial disputes between Spain and Great Britain in the West Indies, the great object of the war, seemed to have been relinquished, and only specified in the treaty for form's sake; while each of these nations, though mutually weakened, found themselves in the same condition as before the war. The sober sensible part of the english nation began to speak with reverence of Sir Robert Walpole's pacific administration, and those who had been his greatest enemies seemed at a loss to account for the reasons why the war had been undertaken*.

By this peace, one of the points which Mr. Walpole had strongly recommended to the ministers and to the duke of Cumberland, and even urged in a private letter to the king, the conciliation of Spain was effected: Ferdinand the Sixth was united to England by the influence of his consort; and

* Tindal, vol. 21, p. 373.

and the connection was strengthened by the prudent management of Sir Benjamin Keene. But an alliance with Prussia, the great object of his unremitting labours, was as distant as ever. No representations could conquer the aversion of George the Second to the house of Brandenburg, and overcome his predilection for the house of Austria. Had the british cabinet adopted decisive and prudent measures, they might perhaps have conciliated both powers; but their conduct disgusted the one, and irritated the other. The king of Prussia was disgusted with their lukewarm efforts to secure the guaranty of Silesia, and, as Mr. Walpole predicted, considered that he owed its insertion in the treaty to the influence of France; while the refusal of England to continue the war till Silesia was restored, irritated the empress queen, erased the recollection of past services, and first sowed those seeds of enmity which produced her alliance with the house of Bourbon.

Although Mr. Walpole was not in an official situation; yet his services were highly useful during the course of the negotiations, and the good effects of his advice were warmly and gratefully acknowledged by Sir Thomas Robinson :

“ Aix, September 18, N. S. 1748. I have been honoured with your letter of the 20th past, O. S. from your delicious Wolterton, which would be so in every sense if you had that health that I wish, and I could be instrumental in sending you *there* the first news of the peace which you so much long for. If I had any satisfaction in being called from Vienna into this more conspicuous point of life, I have felt it in nothing so much as in the part you are pleased to take in this notice which his majesty has honoured me with: my next satisfaction is in being already so much nearer home, and in my hopes of carrying all my family soon into England. * * * * *

“ The least good success in my present commission will I hope put an end, with all manner of justice and equity, to my long peregrinations, which, however long and irksome, have been always influenced and guided with those principles which influenced and guided your conduct. So that as long as I act and breathe in a public character, believe me, dear sir, it is your own spirit that is in motion, as far as I can imitate, and would emulate.”

In consequence of his intimate knowledge of all the treaties between England and Spain, Mr. Walpole discovered an important omission in the definitive treaty of Aix, which had escaped the notice both of the plenipotentiaries and of the british cabinet. The terms of the british commerce with Spain were settled according to certain articles in the treaty of Utrecht, which contained many grievous restrictions on the english trade, without referring to the subsequent treaty of 1715, by which those grievances were modified. Mr. Walpole had no sooner received a copy of the preliminaries, than he was struck with the omission, and imparted his observations to the chancellor* and Mr. Pelham. The duke of Bedford, secretary of state, and lord Sandwich, the principal plenipotentiary, accordingly applied, in their distress, to Mr. Walpole, and availed themselves of his advice to obviate the ill effects of this omission. This incident gave rise to some interesting observations by Mr. Walpole on the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, which he styles a Rhapsody of Foreign Politics†, and which do honour to his judgment and diplomatic knowledge.

In this Rhapsody, Mr. Walpole mentions a plan, which he suggested to the ministry, to remove one cause of perpetual misunderstanding with Spain, and at the same time to secure the South Sea trade from future depredations, by ceding Gibraltar to Spain, in exchange for Porto Rico or St. Augustin; a measure which failed of success, as well from the unwillingness of the british cabinet to yield a fortress of such strength and importance as Gibraltar, as from the aversion of the Spanish court to give the English a footing in the West Indies.

* Mr. Walpole to lord Hardwicke, Wolterton, Nov. 9, 1748.

† I find, among the papers at Wolterton, a letter from Mr. Pitt, in which he highly praises the Observations on the Spanish Treaty, contained in this Rhapsody of Foreign Politics.

“ Dear Sir, Dec. 3, 1750.

“ I return you, with a thousand thanks, the

Observations on the Spanish Treaty; which are so material and instructive, that I could have wished to have kept them longer in my hands. I shall with great pleasure take the first opportunity of waiting on you, in hopes of some farther conversation upon this very national concern. I am, with a very sincere sense of your great goodness to me,” &c.

CHAPTER 33.

1748.

*Satisfaction of Mr. Walpole on the Marriage of his Son with Lady Rachel Cavendish—Character of the Duke of Devonshire—Letter to Mr. Yorke—Speech on the Grant of 100,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary—His Scheme for the Security of the Netherlands—Paper on the Causes of the Peace—Letter from Bishop Secker.*

THE satisfaction which Mr. Walpole received from the unexpected signature of the preliminaries, was heightened by a domestic incident, the marriage of his eldest son with lady Rachel Cavendish, daughter of William, third duke of Devonshire*, with whom he had long been in habits of the closest intimacy, and with whose family his brother had maintained a strict political connection from the beginning of the century.

This noble personage was the son of William, second duke of Devonshire, by lady Rachel, daughter of William, the celebrated lord Russel, who suffered death in the cause of constitutional liberty. The duke was born at the close of the preceding century, succeeded to the title in 1729, and filled several high offices in the government, as well as in the royal household.

While he was lord lieutenant of Ireland, he gave a striking instance of prudence and firmness. On the introduction of a new coinage, Swift, elated with his former triumphs in the affair of Wood, and anxious to embarrass the measures of government, distributed inflammatory handbills, ordered the bells of the cathedral to be muffled, and endeavoured to excite a ferment among the people. The duke, on his arrival, informed
of

* On this happy event, Sir Thomas Robinson justly observes, in a letter to Mr. Walpole, "Meanwhile I shall beg leave to trouble you with my best respects to Mrs. Walpole,

with my congratulations upon your son's marriage into the worthiest, for that is more than the greatest, family in England.

Aix, Sept. 18, N. S. 1748.



Pub Feb 1802 by the Rev. W. Cost London

*Your most faithful
& obed^t humble serv^t
Devonshire*

WILLIAM THIRD DUKE of DEVONSHIRE

From an Original in the Possession of Lord Walpole

of these seditious attempts, sent an aid-de-camp to un-muffle the bells, and to threaten Swift with an arrest should any riot be excited. The turbulent dean was intimidated; a peal of loyalty was rung at the cathedral, and perfect tranquillity preserved.

The duke was a man of sound judgment, and unbiassed integrity; and Sir Robert Walpole, who often confidentially consulted him on difficult questions, used to declare, that, on a subject which required mature deliberation, he would prefer his sentiments to those of any other person in the kingdom. Mr. Walpole also paid a just tribute to the character of his noble friend, whose talents were more solid than brilliant. Calling one day at Devonshire-house, which was just finished, and not finding him at home, he left this epigram on the table:

“ Ut dominus, domus est: non extra fulta columnis

“ Marmoreis splendet; quod tenet, intus habet.”

His grace was, at this period, lord steward of the household, and held a place in the cabinet: disgusted, however, with the feuds in the cabinet, and perplexed with the jealous disposition of Newcastle, and the desponding spirit of Mr. Pelham, he resigned his office in 1749, and withdrew to a dignified retirement at Chatsworth, prepared, on all occasions of importance, to give his support to government. He was succeeded in his high station by the duke of Marlborough.

The political opinions of the duke of Devonshire according with those of Mr. Walpole, rendered the connection between the two families the more agreeable. In a letter to Mr. Yorke, Mr. Walpole alludes to this event in terms of the highest pleasure; and mentions the odium which he had incurred by the free communication of his opinions on the system of foreign affairs.

“ Coekpit, May 21, 1748*. Hurry, on account of my son's nuptials, and preparations to set out for Wolterton, (which I shall do in the middle of next week,) has prevented my answering your affectionate letter of the 15th sooner. I have had too many marks of your friendship to doubt in the least of the sincerity of your congratulations on the occasion of my new and great alliance, which gives me, indeed, infinite joy and satisfaction;

* Hardwicke Papers.

faction; and if it was possible to increase it, it would be by the kind part which all my friends are so good as to take in it; and particularly to find that the noble family to whom my son is allied is no less pleased with it; therefore you guess right in thinking that I shall enjoy the country with greater satisfaction than ever, since my own private, as well as the public concerns, are so much to my own heart's content. I shall endeavour to preserve the first in the same happy situation; but that of the public is in much better and abler hands; and a mutual agreement among those that have the management of affairs, may make the ministers easy, and this still a flourishing nation.

“ Providence has done great things for them, if they will but make a right use of the unexpected good fortune: it entirely depends upon themselves. My good offices can be of no use any where; the freedom which my conscience, and concern for my king and country, lately obliged me to take, and which I have the vanity to think was of some service, will never be forgiven; and therefore, although I was very importunate, and am thought by some of the greatest to have been very impertinent, to put an end to a war which threatened a general destruction, I cannot repent of what I did; but I am resolved to enjoy the peace with great calm and contentedness, without giving myself, or any body else, any trouble upon ministerial conduct, being at last convinced that nobody takes advice until he gives it to himself; and in all stations of life,

“ Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.”

His letters to the duke of Cumberland, as well as his private correspondence, prove that Mr. Walpole was prejudiced against the house of Austria, from long experience of her arrogance, jealousy, and interested politics*. In the next session of parliament, he gave a public proof of his sentiments, by his speech in the committee of supply, on the 21st of March 1749, on a message from the king, recommending a demand of 100,000l.

* In a letter to lord Royston he thus expresses himself on this subject: “ May 15, 1754. I am glad to hear the colonel thinks my old friends, the Dutch, are not in so low a condition; but if his hopes of their being of ser-

vice again to the common cause depends upon the court of Vienna being reasonable in the barrier, or indeed in any other point, I am afraid that great event is still at a great distance; I never yet saw that time.” Hardwicke Papers.

100,000*l.* made by the empress queen. He adopted, in this instance, a mode which he not unfrequently followed, of freely censuring a measure from which he did not withhold his public support.

“ I had flattered myself,” he said, “ with an imagination that we should have saved this 100,000*l.* as a diminution, so far, of the great debt contracted by the war, or as a means to supply a fund for some necessary and useful undertaking for the public benefit, in cultivating the arts of peace ; and particularly, that the settlement and security of Nova Scotia, of so much importance to the commerce and safety of our northern colonies, might have been a proper object for that purpose.

“ But since his majesty has been pleased to lay this demand before us, I must own it has been done in the most gracious and impartial manner, by submitting the reasons contained in the memorial of the queen of Hungary’s minister to our free deliberation, without any one expression in the message tending to bias or influence our opinion. I shall, therefore, cursorily take notice of the reasons alledged in support of this claim, and then suggest something, which seems so obvious and right, that it is possible the administration may have already prevented me by taking the measure I would presume to recommend to them ; and which, if it should be steadily pursued, and have the desired effect, may make the grant of this sum not so unreasonable, at least to me, as it might otherwise be.

“ The demand is for the prompt payment of 100,000*l.* part of 400,000*l.* granted to the empress queen by virtue of a treaty signed January 26, 1748 ; although the certificate (the condition for the payment of that sum,) had not been delivered, under pretence that the troops were upon their march, that the signing of the preliminaries had prevented the arrival of some of them, and that the money was designed to pay the arrears of her generals and officers in the Low Countries, and the troops kept for the defence of them. The pressing instances for prompt payment, besides an air of superiority with which the court of Vienna generally speaks to other powers, seem to imply some more immediate service than that of defending the Low Countries, which I shall take notice of hereafter ; but if I was sure that money was to be laid out in repairing the fortifications in Flanders, I should, and I believe every member of the house would, readily

readily consent; any assurances, or any appearance of so good a work, would meet with a general satisfaction.

“The next reason advanced in the Memorial is, that her imperial majesty had shewn so much deference to the king’s counsels, that, notwithstanding the sacrifices which she was required to make, she came readily into the peace. This ready accession has certainly great merit; although I am inclined to believe, that if the money now claimed had been paid before her accession, she would not have shewn such a readiness. As I am not acquainted with what passed in the negotiations and conferences with the queen of Hungary’s ministers, to induce her to agree to the preliminaries, I have not so lively and luxuriant a fancy as to form imaginary and supposed facts, and force from them imaginary and uncertain conclusions; therefore, I will not so much as suspect that, in those conferences, any expectations were given of the payment of this 100,000*l.* on that condition. It is plain, by the king’s impartial message, that nothing of that nature had passed; and had a minister ventured to offer that temptation, yet I am sure my honourable friend* upon the floor would not have paid it without the consent of this house. But let that be as it will, the empress queen, by coming so soon into the peace, was a great service; and here I cannot forbear to observe the unavoidable inconveniences that are inseparable from an alliance composed of many powers, against one great and formidable one; the unwillingness of one ally to concur, may obstruct the greatest action, and prevent the most reasonable peace. And had her imperial majesty absolutely refused to agree to the peace, (although it was much more reasonable than could have been expected, from the circumstances of the allies,) we must indeed have made it, because it was impossible to carry on the war any longer; but it would have been loose, and imperfect, and difficult, to have carried into execution; and therefore the ready concurrence of her imperial majesty was of great moment to complete that necessary work, and is a great inducement to me to grant her the 100,000*l.* now demanded.

“The last reason for supporting this claim is, that the empress, to shew her regard to his majesty, offers, and is willing to concur with the king,
in

* Mr. Pelham.

in any means that may be proper to preserve the peace establishment at Aix-la-chapelle. I could have wished, sir, that this offer had been extended farther, not only to preserve the peace of Aix-la-chapelle, but also the tranquillity of Europe, being apprehensive that new and dangerous troubles threaten the immediate disturbance of it. As to the peace lately made, I am afraid that, if the only considerable power that can do it should attempt to break it, we should be in no condition, jointly with our allies, to prevent or withstand such an attempt. The Dutch are no more; and as to the house of Austria, it is well known that they cannot put their troops into motion without our money, nor into action without requiring from us greater subsidies and supplies than it is possible for us ever to furnish again.

“ But I am under no apprehensions that the peace of Aix-la-chapelle will be disturbed. As long as the same principles and motives that brought it about subsist, the peace will subsist too; and, perhaps, I may differ in opinion with many gentlemen in this house, and with multitudes out of it, as to the causes and motives that effectuated the peace; for I by no means attribute it to the distresses that France was under, at the time of making it, to carry on the war. His majesty, by his steady perseverance to act agreeably to our laws and constitution, the bravery of his troops in the field, and our great successes by sea, have gained him the affection of his people, and placed him in an eminence of glory and respect, among all foreign powers, equal to that of any of his predecessors, and, without doubt, had weight in the negotiations for peace. But his troops, brave as they are, were commonly beat, bravely indeed beat; but beat still they were of late years, and were by no means able to resist the rapid progress of the french arms, in the Low Countries, either by sieges or battles.”

Mr. Walpole then proved that the unexpected signature of the preliminaries did not proceed from their losses by sea, from want of money, nor from distresses at home; and asserted, that the moderation of the enemy was derived from the character of Louis the Fifteenth, who had been trained up by cardinal Fleury in pacific sentiments, from the emulation of the nobles in adopting the views of their sovereign, and from their cabals

cabals against the two foreigners* who commanded the army in the Netherlands. He also contended, that the same pacific principles would prevail in the counsels of France, during the life of Louis the Fifteenth, provided the same moderation was maintained in England. He expressed his apprehensions, however, lest the affairs of Sweden should excite a new war in Germany and the North: "And should a flame," he said, "be kindled there, although at a great distance from our situation, and from our interests, the sparks, I am afraid, by some fatality, or some unaccountable connection, would blow over into this island."

"The Russians," he added, "are indeed on their march out of Bohemia, but troops and recruits are daily raising by the austrian officers; and camps, as well in that kingdom as in Moravia, are marked out by them against the spring. Nor is the king of Prussia less assiduous in increasing and completing his armics; declaring that he is obliged to do it for his own security and defence, on account of the military preparations and motions of other princes in his neighbourhood. The vindictive temper of the court of Vienna, and ardent desires to recover Silesia, are but too evident; they having, notwithstanding the strongest stipulation in the treaty of Dresden to procure the guaranty of the empire, for that cession, to his prussian majesty, evaded, upon frivolous pretences, the execution of that article.

"If the Austrians have really no design to foment or be concerned in new troubles, why don't they reduce instead of recruiting and increasing their forces? Why are they making encampments in this time of peace and tranquillity? They have no present apprehensions either from the Turks or from the French, the only enemies they have to fear. This behaviour must necessarily create jealousies; and I cannot but suspect that the 100,000*l.* now demanded to be speedily paid, with so much earnestness, may be immediately wanted for their military preparations on the borders of Silesia, instead of the defence of the Low Countries. And, therefore, if I may take the liberty, I would most earnestly recommend it to the administration, to advise, if it is not already done, the most serious instances to be made to the court of Vienna, and to obtain the
strongest

* Marshal Saxe and Lowendahl.

strongest assurances from them that they will not encourage or promote any views or steps to disturb the tranquillity of Germany, or the North; but employ their utmost endeavours to check and prevent any such designs."

He concluded by observing, "We have defensive alliances with Russia, with Prussia, and with the empress queen; and if these powers and their allies should be engaged in a war, whoever may be said to be the aggressors, we shall sooner or later be desired to take a part. The court of Vienna may call upon us to come to her assistance; she may call aloud, but we won't, because we cannot come: and therefore, once more, let me exhort those that are in high station, to think of the proper means to prevent the storm that threatens abroad. France is now disposed to live in peace, for the reasons I have already given, and may therefore be desirous to concert with us in preserving the tranquillity of Europe; a good understanding, and a concert of measures, properly employed by his majesty and the french king, among the powers that seem to be busy in military armaments, may, perhaps, have an effectual weight to prevent a new rupture in Germany and the North; and surely the queen of Hungary, in consideration of the supplies that have been so plentifully furnished by this nation, and for the 100,000*l.* now demanded, will have a due regard and attention to his majesty's instances on this great occasion, especially joined with those of France.

"Upon the whole, I give my vote to grant this sum of money to the empress queen, on account of her ready accession to the definitive treaty of peace, in expectation that it will be employed in the defence, or repairing the fortifications, of the Low Countries; and that she will, instead of meditating troubles in Europe, do all she can to preserve the present pacification."

The last sentence in this remarkable speech alludes to a scheme, which Mr. Walpole had formed, for putting the barrier towns, and the other great fortresses in the Netherlands, in a proper state of defence. Imbibing in his earliest years the principles of the grand alliance, and employed, in the commencement of his political career, in the arrangement of the barrier treaty, he was deeply impressed with the danger of suffering the Netherlands to fall into the hands of France. His papers

abound with treaties and disquisitions, stating and illustrating this subject by historical deductions and incontrovertible arguments, and inculcating the necessity of maintaining the barrier towns in a state of effective defence. He was sensible, from recent experience, that the weak state of those fortresses had facilitated the progress of the French, and would have occasioned the rapid conquest of Holland, had not hostilities been suspended by the signature of the preliminaries. He was no less aware that perpetual disagreements would arise between the house of Austria, who possessed the sovereignty of those towns, and the Dutch, by whom they were garrisoned, concerning the maintenance of the fortifications; and he knew the repeated declarations of the cabinet of Vienna, that the defence of the Netherlands should be the care of the maritime powers. He therefore proposed, that these fortifications should be maintained at the joint expence of the three powers, and that parliament should devote to that purpose the annual sum of 50,000*l.* for a few years; a scheme which he afterwards fully developed in his *Observations on the System of Affairs in 1751*, laid before the king*.

The principal arguments in this speech, relating to the causes of this sudden pacification, are drawn from a paper entitled “*A Letter to a Friend who desired my Thoughts upon signing the Preliminaries,*” and written on the following occasion. Bishop Sherlock, who possessed great influence over the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, having justified the continuance of the war, and attributed the signature of the preliminaries to the disordered state of the french finances, Mr. Etough communicated these observations to Mr. Walpole, which instantly extorted from his fertile pen the “*Letter to a Friend,*” proving the signature of the preliminaries to have arisen from other causes. It was shewn to several persons of distinction, and much approved: lord Chesterfield, in particular, was eager for its publication, which Mr. Walpole declined, from an unwillingness to engage in party politics, and from a fear of giving offence. The effect which this, and other papers, had on bishop Sherlock, cannot be ascertained, unless we may judge from his demeanour to Mr. Walpole, which was uniformly respectful and attentive. But their perusal made a deep impression on the celebrated Dr. Secker, then bishop of Oxford, after-

* See Chapter 35.

afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and removed many prejudices which that prelate had entertained against the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. It is with pleasure I lay before the public a letter which bishop Secker wrote to Mr. Etough on this occasion.

“ St. James’s, Westminster, April 11, 1749. Mr. Walpole has been so kind as to make me two visits since you were in town, and hath put into my hands the papers which you intimated he would, with leave to communicate them to the bishop of Gloucester; and we have both of us read them with great satisfaction, and a high esteem of the abilities and spirit of the writer, who has shewn the rightest judgment of affairs, supported it with the clearest reason, proposed it, and pursued the proposal with the most steady resolution, and yet the greatest decency and propriety; and (which I could not help taking particular notice of,) hath, in several places, expressed a strong sense of the superintendancy of the Divine Providence. On the whole, I do not think any man living hath deserved so well of this country, in its late situation, as he hath; and I see that his brother deserved much better than I apprehended, though I always both thought better of him, and wished better to him, than some who voted constantly with him. I hope Mr. Walpole’s health will long permit him to continue his attention to the public, and that the directors of the public will attend to his advice. The affair of Tobago seems likely to blow over; what may blow from the North, God knows! if we have any wisdom, we shall endeavour to keep clear; but, alas! there seems no disposition to the way which he hath pointed out, and which I fear is the only one.”

CHAPTER 34.

1747—1751.

State of the Cabinet—Dismission of Lord Harrington—Succeeded by the Earl of Chesterfield—His Political Life and Character—Resignation—Duke of Bedford becomes Secretary of State—Motives for his Appointment—Influence of the Duke of Cumberland—Party of Leicester-house.

SINCE the re-establishment of the Pelhams, in February 1746, the cabinet had undergone some alteration. The earl of Harrington, having incurred the king's displeasure, was compelled to resign the office of secretary of state, and the seals were unexpectedly given to the earl of Chesterfield.

The political life of lord Chesterfield was singularly checquered: he commenced his public career on the accession of George the First, under the Whig administration, and, by the interest of his relation, general Stanhope, was placed about the person of the prince of Wales, obtained a seat in parliament, and soon distinguished himself as an able speaker. During the schism of the Whig administration, he attached himself to the prince of Wales, rejected the repeated offers of his kinsman, and exerted his abilities on the side of opposition. On the death of his father, in 1726, he succeeded to the title, and aspired to the highest employments of the State, when George the Second ascended the throne. But his expectations were disappointed by the influence of queen Caroline, who was offended with his endeavours to rise by means of Mrs. Howard, at that period the favourite mistress of George the Second*.

In 1728 he was appointed ambassador to Holland, and filled his office with great credit and address. In 1730 his services were rewarded with the office of lord steward and the order of the garter. He aspired, however,

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 31.

ever, to the embassy of France, and to the post of secretary of state ; but was disappointed in both. Still ignorant of the cause of his failure, he further disgusted the queen by his assiduous attention to the favourite, and was accordingly dismissed in 1733.

From that period he entered the lists of opposition, indiscriminately decried the measures of government, and employed all his eloquence and wit against the popular topics of corruption and hanoverian influence. His virulent invectives, and a dispute concerning the legacy which George the First had left to his wife*, personally offended the king ; and he was omitted in the arrangement of the new administration, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole. He accordingly continued his violent opposition until the formation of the Broad Bottom Ministry, when he arranged, with the duke of Newcastle, in conjunction with Gower and Cobham, the coalition of parties, and acted with becoming moderation †. In consequence of this arrangement, he was strongly recommended by the duke of Newcastle for the embassy to the Hague, and the government of Ireland ; but the king put an absolute negative on the proposal, and declared that he should have nothing. His majesty added a peremptory command, “ not to trouble him with any more such nonsense ; he had been forced to part with those he liked, but would not, on any account, be prevailed on to take into his service those that were so disagreeable to him ; with other strong expressions to the same effect ‡.”

The king's consent, however, being at length extorted, after a cold audience, in which the only words addressed to him were, “ You have received your instructions, my lord §”, he repaired to Holland. The sanguine expectations which the public entertained of the success of his embassy were not fulfilled ; a failure more owing to the fluctuating and uncertain counsels of the dutch government, than to his own want of address. He also felt the disadvantages of his former opposition to continental measures, which he was now commissioned to promote. On this dilemma, Mr. Walpole observes in a letter to Mr. Yorke : “ I look upon lord Chesterfield's laboured harangue in the same light that you do ; but what pleases me in it is to see him value himself in being employed to concert

measures,

* Melesina de Schulemberg, countess of Walsingham, and daughter of George the First by the duchess of Kendal.

† Lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal,

‡ Mr. Stone to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Newcastle-house, Thursday afternoon, four o'clock.—Hardwicke Papers.

§ Maty's Life of Lord Chesterfield.

measures to satisfy engagements he had contributed to form. These engagements were the accession of the States to the pragmatic sanction; engagements which he and his friends, when in opposition, exclaimed against, as calculated to serve hanoverian views. But I am glad he is now with the ministry; his wit will be of use, in public and in private, to reconcile the refined and contradictory speculations of lord Cobham to reason and practice*.”

He filled, however, his high office in Ireland with equal dignity and condescension: he promoted various plans for the advantage of that kingdom, and his conduct in this exalted station received the approbation of all parties.

On the resignation of the earl of Harrington, he was promoted to the seals, at the sole recommendation of the duke of Newcastle, and even without the knowledge of Mr. Pelham and the other members of the cabinet. He now conceived new hopes of acquiring superior influence in the cabinet; with a view to recover the good-will of the king, he paid assiduous court to lady Yarmouth, and succeeded in obtaining her cordial support. But the king's aversion was invincible; he treated the new secretary with civility, was pleased with his wit and vivacity, and conversed familiarly on trifles; but, in matters of business, was dry and reserved†.

The frequent conferences of lord Chesterfield with lady Yarmouth excited the jealousy of the duke of Newcastle, to whom he never imparted what passed; his grace, in return, encroached on his department, and never communicated his private correspondence with lord Sandwich. Chesterfield was accordingly a mere cypher in office. Perceiving his want of influence, he never avowed an opinion in the closet contrary to the sentiments of the king; never mentioned Prussia, though anxious to promote that alliance; never proposed a plan for peace, though he was desirous of any peace: he was never explicit in his opinion, wrote superficially to lord Sandwich, and only when he was commanded to write; and told a foreign minister, that he had much to do, but little to say, and was the third *commis* in England‡.

To

* May 25, 1745.—Hardwicke Papers.

† Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.—Hanbury Papers.

‡ From Lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal.

To this public nullity was added a total want of interest in promoting his friends and relatives, of which he gives a striking instance to his friend Sir Charles Hanbury Williams: "London, Dec. 8, O. S. 1747. I laid your application, for a removal to Aix-la-chapelle, before the king, in the best manner and the best words that I possibly could, for I laid your letter itself before him; but with what success I will, according to my custom, tell you very frankly and truly. His majesty read your letter with attention, and returned it without saying any thing upon it. I asked him, what answer he commanded me to give you? He said, whatever I pleased. I asked, whether that meant that he was pleased to grant your request, as I hoped it did? He answered, *Nothing like it*. I urged, that, in case the conferences at Aix-la-chapelle took the shape of a congress, it would be impossible for lord Sandwich alone to go through the business, and the forms; that I did not see that he could have so good a colleague as yourself, and moreover, that your removal from Dresden to Aix-la-chapelle, where, if you did not go, somebody else must, would be a *clear saving* of your present appointments. To all which I had no other answer, but that bow which is the signal for us to go out of the closet."

He likewise ineffectually solicited the rank of colonel in favour of his cousin Mr. Stanhope, and conceived hopes of success, because the king neither refused nor granted his request. But his majesty gave away two regiments, and made two aid-de-camps, with the rank of colonel, without including Mr. Stanhope.

These public and private mortifications induced him, in February 1748, to relinquish his office. The king received his resignation with outward marks of regret, but with inward satisfaction. Lord Chesterfield took his leave of public life with dignity and complacency, and, to prove that he did not retire in ill-humour, solicited and obtained a seat at the Admiralty Board for his brother. In public, he attributed his resignation to his declining health; but, in private, did not scruple to say, that as he could neither serve the public, nor his particular friends, he deemed it unnecessary to retain his employment; he declared, however, that he would never more submit to the slavery of opposition, and never swerved from his resolution.

resolution. His retreat made less sensation than a political pamphlet on the subject* styled "An Apology for a late Resignation," which contained some curious facts, and was supposed to be either written by himself, or under his inspection†.

The expected vacancy of the seals occasioned great cabals. Lord Sandwich was intended for the post by the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Newcastle, who were at that time closely united; but they could not venture openly to declare their intentions, because he was no favourite with the king, and was disliked by the pacific members of the cabinet. Both the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham affected to recommend no one; the former, however, hinted that the seals ought to be offered to the duke of Bedford, who, it was thought, would decline the offer in favour of his friend lord Sandwich; but he disappointed this scheme, by accepting the seals himself, and lord Sandwich succeeded him as first lord of the admiralty.

Mr. Fox, who had highly distinguished himself for his skill and assiduity in business, and for his parliamentary abilities, was designated by the public voice as the most likely person to succeed lord Chesterfield‡; but

* "Lord Chesterfield," says Mr. Rigby, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "retired very quietly by himself, and the duke of Bedford took the seals, with as little noise or bustle, or even conversation, as if the two box-keepers at the play-house had changed places. The very little tittle-tattle that it occasioned, I own, was very extraordinary. Since, indeed, here has been a very curious pamphlet about it, called 'An Apology for a late Resignation,' which has made much more noise than the thing itself."—Hanbury Papers.

† These anecdotes relating to lord Chesterfield are principally taken from lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal, and a letter from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, dated Feb. 17, 1747-8.

‡ "You will expect," writes Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "I should say

something of myself, as having been so much named on this occasion. You will believe, that when lord C. resigned, I felt with regard to the Seals, as I shall with respect to the See of Winchester, when that prelate dies. Indeed I no more thought of the one than I did of the other. The duke of Newcastle declared early he would name nobody; Mr. Pelham said the same. Hence standers-by named every body; and, among the rest, me. All Sandwich's enemies were my friends; or, to express it better than by the word enemies, those who wished him not to succeed, as it would be too strong a declaration in favour of the warlike system. Joined to these, who were numerous and of rank at court, the voice of the house of commons was much in my favour, and of none more loudly than Lyttleton, Pitt, &c. I flatter myself that from personal affection, too, I had more active friends

but he neither solicited nor expected the office himself, though his numerous friends were active in their exertions, and he was even warmly countenanced by Mr. Pitt, afterwards his great rival.

At this period the duke of Newcastle predominated in the cabinet; he had conciliated the good-will of the king, and was foremost in promoting his continental politics. He strongly enforced the great measure which now occupied the cabinet, the election of the archduke Joseph as king of the Romans; a measure which, at this moment, unnecessarily involved England in the chaos of German politics; and, as it was opposed by the courts of Versailles and Berlin, required enormous subsidies to purchase the votes of the electoral princes*.

The party of the prince of Wales, or, as it was usually styled, of Leicester-house, from the place of his residence, began at this time to assume a formidable appearance, by uniting with the remains of the former opposition, and with those who, like Sir John Hynde Cotton, had deserted the party of the court. The parliamentary leaders of this party in the house of commons were, lord Egmont, author of the celebrated pamphlet, "Faction Detected," a fluent and plausible debater, warm in his friendships, and violent in his enmity; Doctor Lee, a civilian of high integrity and profound investigation, who tempered an equal ardour with greater judgment; and Mr. Nugent†, an undaunted, lively and eccentric speaker. The party had recently gained an acquisition in Mr. Doddington, a former adherent of the prince, who, at his request, resigned the treasuryship of the navy, in which office he had

friends than I could have imagined, or is usual; and this has been a pleasure to me. On the other side, as I had no thoughts of it, or pretensions to it, (though spirit enough to undertake it if it came strangely in my way,) as the execution of it might have been attended with great discredit to myself, and certainly with much uncasiness; and as the whole of the transaction has been such as leaves me the honour of being talked of for it, without the reproach of having pretended to what I could not attain, I am in my own mind as easy as ever I was, and shall go on in my old track as cheerfully as

ever, with as little thought as ever I had of being secretary of state.—War-office, Feb. 17, O. S. 1747-8. Hanbury Papers.

* See chapter 36.

† Afterwards earl of Clare. The late earl of Orford, speaking of the debates on the marriage-act, observes, "Nugent shone extremely in opposition to the bill, and though every now and then on the precipice of absurdity, kept clear of it with great humour and wit, and argument."—Lord Orford's Works, 4to, vol. 5, p. 36.

had considerably enriched himself. He was induced to quit the administration by the offer of the prince to reinstate him in full favour, and to place in his hands the whole direction of his affairs. But he found the new court more agitated with feuds and cabals than the ministry which he had deserted. The adherents of the prince fondly anticipated his accession to the throne; and, in imagination, divided among themselves the spoils of administration. Mr. Doddington was appointed treasurer of the chambers, and kissed the prince's hand on the promise of a future peerage, the management of the house of lords, and the seals for the southern department. He was commissioned to announce to Mr. Furnes a seat at the treasury board, to Sir Francis Dashwood the treasurership of the navy, and to Mr. Henley the office of solicitor-general, and to settle with lord Talbot the place which he would occupy. Meetings were formed, and consultations held, for arranging the proceedings at the commencement of a new reign; and a plan adopted to dismiss the Pelhams, dissolve the parliament, and obtain a new civil list of 800,000*l.* a clear annuity, throwing the surplus of the revenue to the public. Mr. Doddington undertook to raise two or three hundred thousand pounds until the new parliament should grant the civil list. These arrangements were communicated to the earl of Carlisle, lord chief justice Willes, and several other persons in the confidence of the prince; and the division of the spoil, as might have been expected, occasioned endless intrigues*.

These proceedings were too public not to be known at court, and excited the resentment of the king, and the jealousy of the ministers, which were still farther heightened by a dispute relating to the court of stannaries in Cornwall. The breach was widened by the arts of lord Bolingbroke, who at this period influenced the counsels of Leicester-house. Excluded by the voice of all parties from a share in the government, he endeavoured to annihilate all party distinctions, and to promulgate a political creed, founded on metaphysical subtleties, and theoretical notions, incompatible with the principles of human government, and hostile to the church and constitution of England†.

In the second and third sessions of the new parliament, the adherents
of

* Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 5-7.

† See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chapter 25.

of the prince took the lead against administration; but, divided among themselves, and supported only by a small remnant of the former opposition, were ill calculated to combat the strong and compact phalanx of the ministerial party; among whom the names of Pelham, Fox, Pitt, and Murray * stood most conspicuous. On this side Mr. Walpole also ranged himself; but acted with that independent spirit which, in supporting government, scorned to defend all the measures of administration. Besides the grant of 100,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary, he spoke several times on different subjects; but as his speeches appear in the printed debates, it is unnecessary to detail them in this place.

In the third session, which commenced on the 17th of January 1751, the party of the prince seemed likely to gain great accession from the just unpopularity which the ministry incurred by the subsidiary treaties in Germany; while lord Cobham and his friends meditated a secession from the ministerial phalanx. But the unexpected death of the prince, on the 20th of March 1751, gave a new aspect to public affairs, and produced a great and singular change in the temper of the court, and the counsels of the kingdom. The effect in the house of commons is explained by Mr. Fox in a few words: "The division," he says, "against the army last Wednesday, was 43. Dr. Lee spoke for us, and gave his true reason, the prince's death, which (he said) makes us much weaker than we were. It makes our side much stronger in parliament, I am sure; for, except lord Egmont, who spoke with great moderation, lord Middlesex, and Mr. Marten, no one of the prince's family voted against us. Of the rest, one half was away, and the other with us. I don't foresee a debate this session, nor any difficulty to the minister, but that of getting 40 every day to make an house †."

The effect in the cabinet was instantly visible; the king acquired a temporary emancipation from the influence of the Pelhams; and the duke of Newcastle, who, before this event, is represented as "afraid of the king, to a degree that was ridiculous‡," became more timorous than ever. The king wished to prevent the entrance of lord Harrington into the cabinet,

* Solicitor-general, afterwards earl of Mansfield.

† Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, 1751. Hanbury Papers.

‡ Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Feb. 17, 1750-1.

binet, on his return from Ireland, to introduce lord Granville into the administration, and to confer on lord Holdernessee the seals of secretary of state; and the will of the sovereign was now a law. The reconciliation between lord Granville and the duke of Newcastle was effected through the mediation of Mr. Nugent; he arranged a private meeting at his own house; the two rival statesmen passed a convivial evening together, and the next day their coalition was announced. The duke of Dorset succeeded lord Harrington as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and his place of president of the council was conferred on lord Granville.

The public were justly astonished at this coalition, after the repeated declarations of the Pelhams to the king, to the parliament, and to their friends and acquaintance, both in public and private, that they would never again act with Granville; but their honour was saved, by the promise of the new president, to act, like the earl of Wilmington, a subordinate part. He was induced to submit to this condition, from the embarrassment of his circumstances, the decline of his health, and want of parliamentary influence, notwithstanding his aspiring genius, commanding talents, and the favour of his sovereign. He lent his name and talents to the administration, and continued a cypher in the government until his death, without a single attempt to regain his former superiority.

The resolution of the king to give the seals to lord Holdernessee, coincided with the inclination of Newcastle to remove the duke of Bedford, and his adherent lord Sandwich. The duke of Bedford, on receiving the seals, affected to declare that he accepted them only for six months; but those who were acquainted with the discordant tempers of the two secretaries predicted that their union would not continue as many weeks; and the broils which soon arose between them, seemed to justify this prediction. But a variety of circumstances prevented a rupture until the death of the prince. The dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle had been closely united by their views for the continuance of the war, and had concurred in promoting Bedford and Sandwich, who entertained the same sentiments. But soon after the conclusion of the peace, Newcastle,

“Who could not bear a rival near the throne,”

became jealous even of the duke of Cumberland's ascendancy in the closet; and a disagreement soon followed, which broke out into an open rupture
a few

a few months before the prince's death, on the attempt to remove lord Sandwich.

The state of this dispute is too well drawn by Mr. Fox, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, not to be submitted to the reader in his own words: "I shall confine this letter chiefly to the only subject I must not venture by the post, the strange situation of the court here. The duke of Bedford and duke of Newcastle hate one another irreconcilably, so do lord Sandwich (who governs the former,) and the duke of Newcastle. His royal highness the duke, and the duke of Newcastle, are more declared enemies than you can imagine. His royal highness's great favour to lord Sandwich was perhaps the first, and is perhaps the chief cause of that hatred which is now a deep-rooted one. The brothers disagree as much or more than ever; but Mr. Pelham knows he can neither govern, or separate himself from his brother, and therefore seems to have given over the thoughts of prevailing in any measures that might reconcile or barely prevent a rupture. Thus stood affairs when his majesty came from abroad. The duke of Newcastle flattered himself that his grace of Bedford would willingly quit the seals to be master of the horse, or president, and perhaps he would, if the *duke* would permit the duke of Newcastle to carry such a point. The duke of Newcastle flattered himself, with the assistance, which he certainly has, of lady Yarmouth, that he had brought his majesty to that temper, that if the duke of Bedford would not go *de bon gré*, he would force the seals from him. But in this too he was disappointed. His majesty, very wisely considering, I suppose, that nothing was more silly than for his ministry to risk so great, so sure a majority as we have, only to satisfy the peevish or personal resentment of the duke of Newcastle, took the part of shewing that whoever was the aggressor would have his majesty against him, and has postponed the giving away of all places, for fear of disputes, till at least the end of the sessions. The dukes of Newcastle, then, and Bedford, are trying which can keep their temper best and longest. The duke of Newcastle has the power, which I should think a great help*."

The king was no less desirous than the duke of Newcastle to part with lord Sandwich; but wished to retain the duke of Bedford, though not in the

* Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Feb. 17, 1750-1. Hanbury Papers.

the office of secretary of state, which he had destined for the earl of Holderness. While this scheme was agitating, Mr. Fox, from his attachment to the duke of Cumberland, advised the duke of Bedford to offer the resignation of the seals, and to accept for himself and lord Sandwich such places in the cabinet as his majesty should approve, and to which his ministry would not object; but the duke, over-ruled by the cabals of what was called the Bedford-house party, rejected the advice, and resigned the seals in disgust, at a time when the death of the prince rendered his defection of little consequence; and in his audience of leave expatiated on the duke of Newcastle's conduct in terms of the highest indignation and contempt.

The seals were given to lord Holderness; lord Sandwich was succeeded in the admiralty by lord Anson, the son-in-law of lord Hardwicke; lord Trentham, another of the duke of Bedford's friends, was removed, and the whole Bedford party entered the lists of opposition. The post of master of the horse, which had been vacant since the death of the duke of Richmond, and was destined for the duke of Bedford, was granted to the marquis of Hartington, who was called up to the house of peers.

CHAPTER 35.

1748—1751.

Conduct of Foreign Affairs—Attempts of the Cabinet to procure the Election of the Archduke Joseph to the Dignity of King of the Romans—Subsidiary Treaties with the Electors of Germany—Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham disapprove these Measures—Mr. Walpole's Memorial to the King.

THE conduct of foreign affairs, pursued by the cabinet during these changes, was liable to many objections, and was not only censured by the enemies, but disapproved by many friends of government, among whom Mr. Walpole is distinguished.

The great object of the british cabinet was to secure the succession of the imperial dignity in the house of Austria, by obtaining for the archduke Joseph, eldest son of Maria Theresa by the emperor Francis, the election to the title of King of the Romans. But this was an object of extreme difficulty, and attended with a profusion of expence. As a previous step, it became necessary to obtain a majority of votes, not only in the electoral college, but likewise in the diet of the empire. Hence a regular system of influence and bribery was established; the electoral votes were to be purchased by means of subsidiary treaties, and the money of England lavished on the petty princes and states of Germany. Subsidies were offered to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the elector of Bavaria, who engaged for an annual sum of 40,000*l.* paid by Great Britain and the United Provinces, to hold in readiness 6000 auxiliaries for the service of the maritime powers, but not against the emperor or empire; the elector of Saxony, Augustus III. king of Poland, was also secured by the promise of a loan of 500,000*l.* on the mortgage of certain lordships in the saxon territories.

But, notwithstanding these enormous expences, the scheme was successfully

fully counteracted, by the opposition of the king of Prussia as elector of Brandenburg, and the king of France as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, who declared the election of a minor incompatible with the laws of the empire. They had secured the elector of Treves, and detached the elector of Cologne from the party of England, and the elector Palatine had entered a strong protest against the convocation of an electoral diet.

A close connection was at this time established betwixt France and the king of Prussia, who had recently conceived new disgust against George the Second, on account of the disputes for the succession to East Friesland. On the death of the last duke without heirs-male, Frederic instantly took possession of the duchy, as Mr. Walpole had predicted. George the Second, as duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh, remonstrated against this seizure, stated his pretensions in a memorial presented to the diet of Ratisbon, and demanded that their respective claims should be referred to the decision of the aulic council. He was warmly supported by the house of Austria. The king of Prussia presented a counter-memorial, and refusing to submit his right to any tribunal, entered a protest against the proceedings of the diet. The nugatory attempt of George the Second, to wrest from so powerful a sovereign, a duchy which he then had in possession, was as impolitic as it was unsuccessful. Frederic expressed his resentment against the court of London, for their officious interference in the affairs of Germany, and, under the pretext of demanding reparation for the seizure of some prussian ships by english cruizers, discontinued the payment of the Silesian loan*. He also redoubled his efforts to counteract the election of the archduke Joseph.

Notwithstanding the incessant representations of Mr. Walpole, no effectual endeavours had been made to secure the friendship of the king of Prussia; but even the very conduct pursued which he had so strongly reprobated. Instead of deputing, as ambassador to Berlin, a person of high distinction, who possessed the full confidence of his sovereign, and was provided with specific instructions, much time was wasted in selecting an envoy, who was not at last entrusted with full powers. Sir Everard Fawkener

* A loan advanced by some english merchants to the queen of Hungary, on some lordships in Silesia, which the king of Prussia

bound himself to liquidate, when Silesia was guarantied to him.

Fawkener was at first designated for the employment by the duke of Cumberland; but, to use Mr. Walpole's expressions, "Mr. Villiers * having gained the king of Prussia's good opinion, was the cause of his being proposed, and his having asked, and having been refused a place, was generally thought to have been the occasion of his not going. But the true reason, I believe, was, that he had consulted his friend lord Granville, who told him it was not desired that he should succeed in that commission, and consequently he could get nothing but ill-will by it; and therefore he started that demand of a place, as a condition, without any expectation of having it granted him †." At length the choice fell on Mr. Legge, who, though a man of great talents for business, was unfit for a foreign mission, and of a character ill-suited to the temper of that "powerful casuist, whose extraordinary dogmas were supported by 140,000, the most effectual but convincing arguments in the world ‡." His mission to Berlin only exposed him to the caprice and insolence of the prussian monarch.

In consequence of this rooted antipathy between the two sovereigns, Mr. Walpole foresaw the inefficiency of subsidiary treaties, and deprecated the lavish profusion of british money to secure an election which was continually defeated by the influence of Prussia. He no less warmly censured that want of conciliation which marked the conduct of the british cabinet in their transactions with France, and that impolitic antipathy which provoked her enmity, by affecting to hold her out as an enemy in every court of Europe.

Mr. Pelham was the principal person in the cabinet who coincided with the sentiments of Mr. Walpole on all these points; his conciliating and cautious temper is evident from a letter which he wrote to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, then envoy at Dresden, on the request of that court for a loan of 500,000*l.* : "I desired Mr. Fox to send you my opinion without delay, which I dare say he did. Legge has, or will write to you upon the same subject; but I can't forbear telling you myself, why I think it both improper and impracticable. The first arises from the plan
I have

* Envoy to Dresden, afterwards lord Hyde and earl of Clarendon.

† Mr. Walpole to Mr. Etough, Wolterton, Oct. 12, 1751.—Etough Papers.

‡ Mr. Harris to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, March 10, 1750.—Hanbury Papers.

I have laid down with regard to our affairs here; if we are to borrow money for our own services, it would naturally keep down the public stocks; all the spare money would be reserved for a new subscription, and of consequence our present public annuities would go to market at a disadvantageous price. The good effects of this scheme are already seen, for the four per cents. are at par, and the three per cents. at 95. I resolved, therefore, to raise what we wanted within the year, which has cost the land another four shillings in the pound. By this you will easily perceive, that if a loan was opened for half a million, to go abroad, all the good effects of this measure would fall to the ground, under the inconvenience which would arise from so large a sum of money going out of the kingdom, when we have little enough to circulate our vast capital debt, with the other necessities of government, which require money *."

In the midst of the negotiations for the subsidiary treaties, the bickerings with Prussia, and the disputes relative to America and the East Indies, which threatened hostilities with France, Mr. Walpole transmitted to Mr. Pelham a memorial containing some "Considerations on the system of foreign affairs," with the hope that his arguments would influence the duke of Newcastle, and by him be submitted to the king. At length perceiving that none of the ministers could venture to represent in the closet, in terms sufficiently strong, the impolicy of this system, he communicated the paper to the king himself, through the countess of Yarmouth.

"Observations upon the present System of Foreign Affairs†.

"When France was in the full career of glory and success, she unexpectedly concurred with England to put an end to the war, and at the same time shewed a disposition to settle their respective pretensions in the Indies in an amicable manner. It is not now necessary to enquire into the motives of this pacific inclination, any farther than to observe, that the French were under no necessity to lay down their arms, while the allies were in the greatest distress, and in no condition to resist their victorious progress. When the general peace was concluded, and black clouds
gathering

* Mr. Pelham to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Feb. 28, 1748-9.—Hanbury Papers.

† Endorsed in the hand-writing of Mr. Wal-

pole, "Communicated to the countess of Yarmouth, who laid it before his majesty, November 1751."

gathering in the North, seemed to portend a new storm, France offered to act in concert with England, to prevent those troubles ; but England, instead of accepting this proposal, *bid France speak to her allies, and England would speak to her allies.*

“ This unnecessary distinction, by declaring formally and publicly to France herself, that we could not look upon her as an ally, (although defensive alliances subsist between the two crowns, and particularly that of 1717, jointly with the States, which is renewed by the treaty of Aix, and although the French are guarantees with us for preserving the present tranquillity,) could not be agreeable to France, especially as it has been echoed by every speech from the throne since the peace, and openly professed and pursued by our foreign measures.

“ These proceedings on the part of England, founded upon a jealousy of France, must unavoidably make her jealous of England ; and while we are busy and active abroad, avowedly with that view, it cannot be expected that France should be idle in opposition to it, with this difference, our measures are unfortunately of that nature that the French are in a condition to defeat, disappoint, or despise them ; but all our pains and expences, instead of procuring us new strength, tend to weaken us, and, instead of preventing new broils, tend to provoke them, and at the same time to disable us to struggle with them when they shall overtake us.

“ We endeavoured to gain Denmark by subsidies : France, apprehensive of our designs to promote the troubles rising in the North, outbid and disappointed us there.

“ The king, as elector, and the States, imagined they had engaged the elector of Cologne in their interest by a subsidiary treaty ; the French soon found means to break that engagement. We think we have gained by subsidies, for the present, the elector of Bavaria ; but are we sure that the French will not be able, by greater subsidies or other advantages, or by menaces, to detach or deter him from his obligations to us ; or that he will prove more useful or faithful than his uncle, the elector of Cologne, especially if the elector Palatine, another branch of that family, who generally act together in public affairs, should not be favourable to us ? *In the mean while our subsidies must be paid in time of peace ;* and this we do—for what ? to get the archduke elected king of the Romans.

“ This must be owned to be a matter of great importance ; and, in order to effect it, we have pursued a very generous plan : the emperor will truly condescend to let England take the lead, and have the honour to be at the greatest trouble and expence to advance his own son to this high station ; and shall we be able to compass this great point by our generosity ? Hitherto it has not had the desired effect ; *but our subsidies must continue to be paid in time of peace.*

“ Cologne has shamefully left us ; and having given subsidies to one elector, we must not stop here, and, although it was declared otherwise in parliament, other electors must be gained.

“ The elector of Saxony presents himself next, and subsidies must be given to him : yet, can we depend upon the steadiness of that prince in time of danger, who is in so much awe of Prussia in his neighbourhood, so nearly related to France, and, 'tis said, has already sent an express to that court to justify the innocence of his intentions ? And will this additional alliance make the election of the king of the Romans sure ? Will the emperor, even for the sake of his own son, with the accession of this strength, hazard the election at the diet, if he apprehends an opposition from the electors of Brandenburg, Cologne, and perhaps Palatine, joined with the weight and influence of France in the empire ? I believe that is not certain ; *but in the mean while our subsidies must be paid in time of peace.*

“ But, supposing the election should be attempted, and our king of the Romans be chosen by a majority of voices ; should the electors of Brandenburg, Cologne and Palatine, on account of some pretended want of formality, and France, as guarantee by the treaty of Westphalia to the privileges of the germanic body, enter their protest, will this decision, attended with such circumstances, keep the powers of Europe calm, and be the means of prolonging the pacification ?

“ We have unnecessarily, by our public declarations and negotiations, already ranged the powers of Europe into two parties, viz. the Emperor, England, Russia, and the States-general on one side, (for I look upon the subsidiary princes, who will let out their troops, in case of a rupture, to those who will pay the most for them, of no consideration,) and France, Prussia and Sweden on the other side. And while we do things disagreeable

to them, and in defiance of them as our secret enemies, we must expect that they will counteract all our measures, and, without coming to an immediate rupture, will do things disagreeable to us.

“ Hence France, who shewed, upon the conclusion of the peace, a favourable disposition to compose the disputes in Tobago, St. Lucia, &c. and even in Nova Scotia, amicably by commissaries, has of late started new difficulties and chicanes, and begins to be troublesome in Africa; hence France and Prussia, as if by joint concert, affect to shew a personal disregard to the king. France sends, in the quality of ambassador to Berlin, a nobleman of Irish extraction, whose family quitted their country with king James the Second, and who consequently must be attached to the interest of the pretender; against which, indeed, as lord Tyrconnell is a natural born subject of France, no formal complaint could be made, though it is a symptom of no great respect to his majesty. But the french court receiving in that character from Berlin the late Lord Marshal *, whom I take to be an attainted rebel, and whom the king of France is obliged by the third article of the treaty of 1717, if required by his majesty, to send in a certain time out of his dominions, seems to me a most astonishing affront; and what the king can say, or do, nobody can tell. Should his majesty take no notice of it to France, what would the world and this nation think or say? Should he take notice of it, and not be regarded, (as, can it be expected he should be, after our having publicly declared and exempted France out of the number of our friends?) what will his majesty do, nay, what can he do? Good God! into what difficulties and dilemmas has the chimerical notion of maintaining the antient grand alliance, in opposition to our antient enemy, plunged our good king, and this poor exhausted nation, when, indeed, the grand alliance is no more, unless it can be more effectually strengthened than by giving subsidies to shuffling and precarious princes, who take our money and laugh at us?

“ In the mean while, Mr. Puissieux, the pacific secretary of state in France, retires from business, and a duke of Burgundy is born. Are we sure that minister laid down his place purely on account of his health? and (that notwithstanding the declarations of France, which are usual on such occasions, even when new schemes are in agitation,) are we sure that
the

* Lord Keith, commonly called Lord Marshal, as hereditary marshal of Scotland.

the same system of peace, of which he was the chief author, will be pursued by his successor? And will the birth of the duke of Burgundy make France so scrupulous and cautious of a fresh rupture?

“We seem to be already *tantum non* in a war; a situation that the Imperial court, in order to keep us in a dependence upon them, always desires we should be in with respect to France. The pistol is cock’d, and, when once fired, what will be the consequence?

“Will the emperor, without money from England, put his numerous troops in motion, and, without our great and usual subsidies, continue them in motion? Will not Russia, that distant ally, as she has already served us once, notwithstanding her obligations by treaty, refuse, if Sweden remains quiet, to march to his majesty’s assistance either as king or elector, without a fresh supply of money from England? Or can the States-general, notwithstanding the present great authority of the Stadholder, find any possible means to defend their own frontier, considering the dismantled condition of their barrier in the Low Countries? And much less, be they ever so unanimous or willing, can they be able to bring an army into the field for the service of the common cause?

“Lastly: Can England maintain forces by sea and land sufficient for her own security at home, which will always, in case of a rupture, be more or less affected, provide her contingent for foreign operations, and at the same time furnish her allies with the necessary subsidies to make their assistance useful?

“I am no military man; but, from what passed in the first campaign of the late war, I can easily imagine that France and Prussia may be able to distress the emperor, and the king as elector of Hanover, to the greatest degree, before a confederacy can be formed strong enough and time enough to resist them. And I am persuaded that those very dominions, for whose service these unnecessary and useless negotiations and expences in time of peace are principally calculated, will be attacked the first, and what an effect that may have upon the head and heart of * * * *†, and consequently his health, at his time of life, is a most melancholy reflection.

“You will, perhaps, observe, that, in the distribution of the powers of Europe into two parties, I have taken no notice of the kings of Spain and Sardinia.

† Meaning the king.

Sardinia. As to the last, he will not strike a stroke, especially on the side of the imperial court, on account of former ill-treatment, without particular advantages and subsidies from us. As to Spain, our negotiations with that crown seem to be the only wise and solid measure that has been taken since the peace; and what part she will take, and whether she will take any immediately, in case of a rupture, is, I believe, doubtful, unless we can engage his catholic majesty in a defensive alliance. But will the spanish ministers advise and promote his going so great a length with his majesty, considering how precarious his catholic majesty's life may be? and, as he has no children, who is to be his successor? I am afraid this is not a very clear point. For these reasons, it has been a matter of wonder that some person of rank and abilities has never been sent as minister to Naples, to cultivate an intimate friendship with that king, who is like to succeed to the crown of Spain, while other considerable powers have their ambassadors, persons of great distinction, at that court. What can be the policy of our neglect and indifference towards that prince, is hard to conceive.

“ But experience has shewn us how exorbitant the power of France is, and how extensive and destructive her views have been of the liberties of Europe, and particularly of the interest and constitution of this nation. Therefore it may be urged, can that power be considered in any other light than that of a secret and inveterate enemy; and, consequently, should we not, in time of peace, have that danger uppermost in our minds and motions, and for that purpose pursue such measures as may put us in a condition to obviate any pernicious schemes meditated against us on the part of that formidable power, and to disappoint and resist them in case they should be put in execution? This is a very plausible, popular, and indeed a true notion, to a certain degree; but, considering the formidable power and neighbourhood of France, would it not have been prudent to have dissembled our jealousy of her evil intentions, at a time that she shewed not the least disposition to exert them, and while the french administration (whether on account of his most christian majesty's pacific temper, or of the person that may have the greatest influence and credit with him, or for the sake of maintaining their power procured by the late peace,) appeared desirous to preserve it, and even in concert with Eng-
land?

land? Was it prudent to decline the acceptance of such a proposal, and to let France and all the world know that we could not consider her as an ally, and to take openly steps in consequence of such a declaration, as plainly indicate our jealousy, and must naturally provoke her to disappointment, if she pleases, all our precautions?

“ But, allowing this to have been a prudent and reasonable way of acting, should not our preventive * and defensive measures be substantial, and of such a nature as by the solidity and strength to answer those good ends? And can our giving subsidies to german princes in time of peace be considered as such? They will take our money for the present; but in a time of exigency, when we shall want their troops, they will be governed, notwithstanding our subsidies, by their fears or hopes, in letting them to us, or to any other power. Meanwhile, before new troubles arise, if France will not take the pains to disappoint and defeat these measures, she will smile at their weakness, and, instead of being kept in awe, will be pleased to see us fling away so much money, in a time of profound peace, to no purpose, which we shall want in time of war.

“ I am no enemy to the former grand alliances; I am sensible they saved Europe and this country: nor am I such an abettor of the pacific inclinations, or the fidelity of France to her engagements, as to depend upon them. Neither would I desert or disoblige those powers who joined so zealously and usefully with us in those grand alliances for the support of the common cause. But the misfortune is, that the powers who composed those alliances are so reduced and exhausted as to be incapable of making the same vigorous efforts against France, now as formidable as ever; unless we can not only separate Spain from a servile dependence upon that crown, which I hope is in a manner effectually done†, but also engage in our interest the supplemental and additional assistance of some new real power, whose natural inclination and interest might lead him, and whose situation and strength would enable him to join in main-
taining

* This passage explains in a few words the preventive system of Sir Robert Walpole, by which he maintained the country so long in peace, and which the half measures of the succeeding administration, as well as the experience of posterity, have fully justified.

† In this instance Mr. Walpole pays a due tribute of approbation to the conduct of the ministry, who, by prudent measures, conciliated the king of Spain, and detached him from France.

taining the balance of Europe; and this power can be no other than the king of Prussia. But, far from shewing the least disposition to gain the friendship of that prince, we have pointed him out, by all our negotiations, as a determined partisan of France, and as a more obnoxious and dangerous enemy to us; and consequently done all we can to disoblige him, and fix him in the interest of that crown, as necessary for his own security and defence against the manifest ill-will of the emperor and his majesty. And can it be imagined, that our giving subsidies, in time of peace, to german princes, which are plainly calculated for the security of Lower Saxony, preferably to that of any other country, and more with a view to keep Prussia than France in awe, will in any degree counterpoise our flinging so considerable a power as Prussia now is, into the scale against us? All that may be said of that prince's strong aversion and ill-will towards his majesty is very glaring and evident, and his behaviour is not to be justified. But doubtless his prussian majesty is no less fully convinced that the king and his principal ally have an equal aversion to him, and that their plans and measures are levelled to vex and distress him. Therefore, as long as those mutual animosities subsist, it must be expected that he will keep strongly united with that power that is best able to defend him, and annoy his enemies; and the short question is, whether he is not, and will not ever be, while united to France, in a stronger situation to shew his resentment against the king, than his majesty can possibly be, *by subsidies granted in time of peace to german princes*, to resent the behaviour of the king of Prussia, and even, with the assistance of all his allies, to resist the joint forces of France and Prussia?

“ But, to conclude these unpleasant speculations, it is plain that the king of Prussia at present holds in his hands the balance of Europe. We may be sorry for it, but we cannot help it; so it is, and so it is like to be. And were it possible to overcome the inveterate animosity and rancour, and by degrees procure and cement an intimate friendship and alliance between his majesty and that prince, which I am afraid we have never yet seriously attempted or desired, it would be a stronger bulwark against any formidable and ambitious power, for securing the liberties of Europe, upon which ours depend, than was ever framed by any former grand alliance

for that purpose, and his majesty would have nothing to fear. But, should his prussian majesty be entirely riveted in the interest of France, the king will never be easy; there is nothing that his majesty will not have reason to fear, both as king and elector; but more immediately for his electoral dominions.

“ But, if the present system for preserving the peace of Europe, and for our own defence in case of a rupture, is not right, what better plan might have been pursued, I think it is not difficult to collect from the foregoing deduction.

“ After having obtained, so unexpectedly, so honourable and seasonable a peace, considering our circumstances at that time, (which must always be the measure of a good or bad peace,) we should have kept ourselves calm and quiet; shewn a disposition to live amicably with all our neighbours; looked into our own affairs, and the situation of them; have, in pursuance of that noble and successful scheme for reducing the interest of the public debts, endeavoured to increase the sinking fund, by bringing the expences for the current service of the year in as narrow a compass as possible, consistent with a sufficient force by sea and land for our home-security against any surprise, and by this means made a gradual reduction of the great and almost unsupportable load of the national debt. We should have continued our antient intimacy and friendship with our old allies, been attentive to the views and motions of other foreign powers, (which can never be indifferent to us,) and as any of them might directly or consequentially affect the safety of our government, or tend to disturb the general tranquillity, taken our measures accordingly, as the exigency of affairs might require. We should have carefully avoided (considering our circumstances,) doing any thing previously, that might fret, alarm, and provoke our neighbours, as jealous of them, while they had given us, by their behaviour, no cause of jealousy, but have readily concurred with all those that were willing to co-operate with us to maintain the general tranquillity. And, in order to supply the want of those resources and efforts, which we and the States formerly exerted in defence of the common cause, and in which we are now extremely defective, especially the Dutch, we should have endeavoured to cultivate a good understanding with such
potentates,

potentates, whose interest and situation might naturally lead them to an union and friendship with us, and whose real strength might be of service in time of danger.

“ This general sketch points out the wisdom of taking no step that might be offensive to France; and at the same time, for the sake of commerce, and of preserving peace in the southern parts, to have not only renewed and improved our antient amity with Spain, but have endeavoured to settle a good understanding with the king of Naples, the heir apparent of that crown. And we should have been no less assiduous, for the sake of preserving peace on the continent nearer to us, in leaving no means untried to settle the strictest alliance with the king of Prussia. Having secured these princes in our interest, France, I own, would not be pleased with the success of these negotiations; but, (deprived of her former influence over Spain,) would scarce have ventured to disoblige the king, fortified, both in the northern and southern parts, with such powerful friends.

“ A foundation being thus laid, of real strength, instead of that rope of sand *by subsidiary treaties in time of peace to german princes*, it would not have been, I should think, a very difficult matter, by laying hold of proper opportunities, managed with suitable prudence, for the imperial court, in concert with his majesty and the king of Prussia, to have got the archduke chosen king of the Romans, (which is certainly a matter of great moment,) without lavishing away the money of Great Britain idly, in a manner that will rather obstruct and retard than promote that great view.

“ But, if we could afford to be at any extraordinary expence *in time of peace*, to prevent or withstand future troubles, surely there is an object that more directly regards the interest and security of this nation, that is very obvious: I mean the dismantled and exposed condition of the barrier in the Low Countries, which the armies of France may take, and pass through to the frontier towns of Holland, in a few days or weeks, without the least opposition or resistance.

“ The important consideration of repairing those fortresses should, upon the conclusion of the peace, have immediately employed the attention of the States, whose safety is first concerned, and in concert with the emperor, who is proprietor of those valuable dominions. And, in case they were not sufficiently able to compass that great work, and had applied to

his majesty for his concurrence and assistance, I do not say it would have been a reasonable demand, or that the parliament would have willingly acceded; but sure I am, that they would more readily have granted a supply for so good and salutary an end, (which is indeed a common cause,) than *give subsidies to german princes in time of peace*; which can be no present advantage, and of which the future benefit, if it can be any, must be very uncertain and precarious. Fifty thousand pounds, furnished on our part, with a proportional contingent on the part of the emperor and the States, for four or six years, to put the barrier in a state of defence, would have been a real bulwark and security against France, should she renew her former dangerous views and attempts upon the Low Countries, which she may now subdue whenever she pleases. Consequently, I am afraid, the liberties of Europe would be at her mercy; and what would be the state of this government and country afterwards, our enemies will see and feel with pleasure."

Had we not been previously acquainted with the boldness and freedom of Mr. Walpole in delivering his sentiments, we should be surprised that a subject could venture to lay before a sovereign, of such an irritable temper as George the Second, a memorial which so strongly militated against his prejudices, sentiments, and wishes.

CHAPTER 36.

1751—1753.

Speech of Mr. Walpole on the Grant of a Subsidy to the Elector of Bavaria—Letter from Mr. Pitt—Conduct of Mr. Walpole on the Marriage Act—Letter from Archbishop Herring.

THE effect of Mr. Walpole's sensible and manly memorial, on the king, I have not been able to ascertain from any document among the Walpole papers, or from any tradition in the family. It certainly did not influence the conduct of foreign transactions, as the same blind attachment to the house of Austria still continued to direct the counsels of England, and the same unwillingness to conciliate the king of Prussia still subsisted.

Notwithstanding the arguments of Mr. Walpole against lavishing the treasures of England on german princes in time of peace, for the sake of securing an election, which could not finally be obtained without the concurrence of Prussia, sums of money were granted to the electors of Saxony and Palatine, under different pretences.

The conclusion of the subsidiary treaty with Saxony for 32,000*l.*, impressed Mr. Pelham with the deepest regret; as it seemed to be a violation of his solemn promise in the house of commons, on the debate relative to the subsidy for the elector of Bavaria, that no farther subsidies should be wanted for securing the election of king of the Romans, He accordingly strongly remonstrated in the cabinet, almost came to a rupture with his brother, and even expressed to Mr. Walpole a determined resolution of seconding his opposition to the measure in the house of commons *. But, before the business was discussed, the mediation of friends, and their just representations that an open separation from his brother would ruin their party, prevailed over his resentment.

Mr. Walpole, aware of this change in the sentiments of his friend, was
unwilling

* Etough's Minutes of Interesting Conversations with Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

unwilling to embark in a fruitless opposition, yet scorned to conceal his sentiments: he adopted the same conduct which he had pursued on the grant of 100,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary, and strongly reprobated the measure, while he gave his vote for the subsidy. I am happy to lay this original speech before the reader, as it has never been given, or even mentioned, in any historical publication.

On the 22d of January Mr. Pelham moved the house to grant the subsidy to the elector of Bavaria, and supported his motion with his usual ability.

Mr. Walpole, in reply, began by observing, "That his honourable friend, who made the motion, had endeavoured to explain away his former declaration, on the debate for the bavarian treaty, that no more subsidies would be wanted for securing the election of a king of the Romans. As he then voted for the question under that impression, Mr. Walpole begged leave to remind the house of that declaration; and though personal motives, and compassion for the elector of Bavaria, might have induced some members to vote in favour of the motion, yet the greatest and principal inducement was a full persuasion, that as it was a dangerous and unprecedented measure to grant subsidies to foreign powers in time of peace, and as it was the first, so it would be the last of this nature." "This, I say," he continued, "was the general persuasion; it was so intimated by persons of weight; and others, that spoke for the question, declared, that the door should be shut for the future against such an attempt. I am, therefore, surprised and concerned to find that another subsidy is demanded for another elector, and that this demand is founded upon some words in the speech from the throne last year. For we are told in the speech of this session, that the king, when he acquainted us last year with the treaty made with the elector of Bavaria, also let us know he was taking such measures as would tend to secure the tranquillity of the empire, and support its system."

He then scrutinised the several articles of the treaty, and urged, that the subsidy was granted to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, for doing what he would otherwise perform without the subsidy, and for pursuing a line of conduct which his interests and inclinations would naturally lead him to adopt. "He was paid," he said, "for not promising to bear
arms

arms against the maritime powers, who had never given him the least provocation, and against whom he had never discovered any marks of dissatisfaction. He was paid, likewise, for making the same stipulation with regard to Austria and Russia; powers to whom he had the greatest obligations, with whom his own interest was closely connected; who conferred on him the crown of Poland, and to whose assistance he must be indebted for rendering the throne hereditary in his family. By another article he bound himself to send succours, stipulated by former engagements, to the assistance of Austria and Russia, should they be attacked; an extraordinary and absurd condition, to pay a prince for the performance of his former engagements with other powers!

He deemed the article no less unreasonable which stipulated that the king of Poland should furnish a body of 6000 men, or more, should the king of England or the States be attacked; for the money was to be annually and punctually paid for a *certain* period of years, while the performance of the condition was precarious, from the *uncertainty* of the time when it would be demanded; and whether, from the ever-shifting interests of the german courts, it would be complied with when demanded.

“Admitting,” he said, “that the exigency of affairs may render it necessary to hire foreign troops, it is needless to grant large subsidies for a term of years, in time of profound peace, when no danger threatens; while they can be hired in a few months, before an approaching rupture, which can easily be foreseen; for the storm does not suddenly burst, without the gathering of the clouds. If we then bid as much or more than other powers, we shall get those troops; but if other powers offer more than we, they will get them, notwithstanding our profusion. Hence, if any part of the subsidy is granted for a term of years, it is unnecessarily wasted; it is *emere spem pretio*, it is giving real money for uncertain expectations, not well to be afforded in our present circumstances.”

With regard to the principal and important object of the treaty, to secure the election of the archduke, which he allowed to be an object of great importance to the tranquillity of Europe, and the interests of England, he argued that the success was rather retarded than promoted by the grant of subsidies.

He then proved, by an historical deduction, the failure of all attempts
to

to wrest the imperial crown entirely from the house of Austria, which was acknowledged to be the only power in the empire capable of supporting the dignity of the crown, and preserving the germanic constitution. Nor would the temporary exclusion of that house have taken place, even on the extinction of the male line, had not the emperor, Charles the Sixth, refused to obtain the nomination of his son-in-law, Francis the First, under the chimerical hope of having male-heirs by a future marriage; but, dying unexpectedly, his succession, which he had endeavoured to secure to Maria Theresa, by the pragmatic sanction, was claimed by numerous pretenders, abetted by the whole power of France.

“ The electors, conceiving her ruin to be unavoidable, and eager to share the spoils, raised the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne; and what was the consequence,” he emphatically demanded, “ of this precipitate measure? Why, in two years, they heartily repented of this rash proceeding; they soon found that their new chief was absolutely, not only in all military counsels and operations, but in all transactions at the diet of Frankfort, under the immediate influence and direction of France, and, instead of being an emperor of Germany, was a slave to that crown; and they could not but conclude that it must be the same in time of peace, and, consequently, the constitution of Germany would be undone. In short, being convinced that no other german prince, but one of the house of Austria, could be endued with sufficient power and authority to support the dignity of the imperial crown, and preserve the system of the empire, they immediately, upon the death of the bavarian emperor, without intrigues or subsidies, even at a time when the king of Prussia was not reconciled to the queen of Hungary, and France was victorious against her and her allies, conferred the imperial crown on the duke of Lorrain. And why? Not on account of any personal regard to him, who was in a manner a foreigner; but as being the only means to restore and perpetuate that dignity in the house of Austria, as absolutely necessary for their own safety, and to preserve the constitution of the empire. This choice was a plain indication, and, indeed, virtually a determination of their intentions in favour of the archduke to be king of the Romans; and consequently there could be no manner of apprehension that they could, by any influence or intrigue, be diverted from pursuing,

suing, in a proper time, an object so necessary and salutary to themselves. They have no other choice, without seeking, with their eyes open, their own ruin. Their interest and inclination must lead them to it; and, if they had been let alone, there seemed to be no reason to fear but that whenever the court of Vienna should be disposed to put it in motion, that election, in this time of peace, could not fail of success. France would scarce have gone into a war on that account, nor would the king of Prussia have interfered to retard it, unless it was to be carried with a high hand, and avowedly in open defiance of him. There seems, therefore, to have been some *arcana imperii* in this affair; not, I dare say, of any bad intent, but perhaps of such a nature as, on account of the intelligence, might not be proper to explain.

“ I will therefore suppose that the court of Vienna had made, and communicated in confidence to ours, some discovery, that, notwithstanding the present seeming tranquillity and calmness, a certain great power* had secretly set on foot intrigues in Germany to embarrass and retard the choice of king of the Romans, and that a sum of money was necessary to obviate and disappoint the effects of them: that the queen of Hungary was using her endeavours to put her finances in a better condition, but at present, having no money to spare, desired his majesty would (considering the advantage that had accrued by the reduction of the national debt,) advance a certain sum on this urgent occasion. These, or some such instances as these, must, I imagine, have been the motive for this extraordinary demand of a subsidy for the elector of Saxony; for I can never believe, or suspect, that we have ourselves officiously, without such a request from the queen of Hungary, (who is so immediately concerned, in a point of such consequence to the honour and interest of her own son and family,) called upon her first, to set on foot the election of the archduke to be king of the Romans, and not leave a matter of such importance open and exposed to the hazard of future events; letting her know, that, if a sum of money was wanting for so great an object, we were ready to give it; that she had purely, from our application, graciously condescended to accept such a friendly offer, intimating, that although she had no reason to suspect the inclination of the electors in favour of her

* France.

her son the archduke, yet a subsidy might be very welcome to some of them in their present circumstances. I say it is impossible to surmise that we should, of our own voluntary motion, have made this generous but unaccountable offer, considering the state of our finances. I must therefore suppose that we have been earnestly pressed, by the court of Vienna, to come into these subsidiary treaties, as absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of Europe, and the constitution of the empire, in which we are so essentially concerned.

"He had no objection," he said, "to stipulate the payment of a certain sum for a limited period; but strongly objected to annual subsidies, during a term of years, for a distant and uncertain event. He complained that the treaty was loosely worded, and contained some stipulations which did not appear in the bavarian treaty; such as, that the ministers of Hanover and Saxony should act in conformity, and in consequence of the fundamental laws and constitution of the empire, which might afford a pretence to the elector of Saxony not to fulfil his engagements, should the king of Prussia declare that the method of proceeding was not agreeable to the constitution of the empire.

"These subsidies were granted principally with a view to secure the election; but, supposing that the election should not take place before the expiration of the term for which it was made, are these treaties to be renewed, or prolonged? Where and how will this unprecedented method of proceeding end?" He next adverted to his favourite notion of promoting an alliance with Prussia. After lamenting the want of a better intelligence between the two sovereigns, he approved the plan of cementing a friendship with the czarina; because, her interest being united with ours, and our alliance as much desired by her as her's by us, we should have no occasion to grant subsidies to her.

"But there is a consideration," he continued, "of great consequence, which affects me in a most sensible manner: His majesty, on account of the happiness we have enjoyed so many years under his most gracious and auspicious reign, making the laws of the land the rule of all his actions; and particularly by the wise provision of a regency, of which he himself was the author, and by which he not only shewed a fatherly concern, that the children of his own royal family, but that of his people
also,

also, whom he considered as his children, should, during a minority, still continue, as far as possible, happy under the same mild government. I say, his majesty, by these signal marks of his goodness, has engaged the affection of all his loyal subjects: I repeat loyal, for I am afraid, if an occasion should offer, there would be too many found not to be so loyal as I could wish; he is at present in a higher point of popularity and glory than any of his royal predecessors ever attained.

“He has, indeed, lately undergone some shocks in his own family: the imminent danger of the duke of Cumberland’s life*, which I look upon, next to his majesty’s, during a minority, as the greatest bulwark to our present and future security, affected him, as it did all that wish well to this government, with the utmost agony and concern. His majesty had scarce, by the recovery of his royal highness, overcome that blow, when the melancholy event of the death of his daughter, the queen of Denmark, overtook him; a princess of the most amiable and truly royal accomplishments, derived to her by her birth, and improved by the example and education of that incomparable and ever to be lamented queen, her royal mother, whom she resembled, and whose resemblance increased the affliction.

“These are inevitable strokes of Providence, which his majesty’s reason and greatness of soul must and have got the better of, fortified with the healing and comfortable satisfaction of reigning in the hearts of his faithful subjects. But should any measures be pursued that may be thought grievous, and inconsistent with their interests; should they apprehend that, under the present great load of taxes and debts, the public money is annually doled out to serve purposes foreign to their real concern and welfare; should their minds by degrees be alienated, and the mutual harmony flowing from royal protection on one side, and a cheerful obedience on the other, be interrupted; and the people, in whose love his majesty has placed his own happiness and glory, grow discontented and uneasy, that uneasiness might make a deep and heavy impression on his majesty’s mind, which at an age so far advanced might prove of fatal consequences to us all.

“These are,” Mr. Charlton, “the motives that have induced me to give

* The duke of Cumberland was dangerously hurt by a fall from his horse.

give the committee so much trouble on this occasion, in order to check a system that seems so unnecessary ; and may, if carried farther, create discontents and clamour against his majesty's government and administration. I do not in the least mean to stir up an opposition, or to lay the foundation of one, until opposition is grounded upon more generous and public-spirited principles and views than I have hitherto seen it. I detest and abhor it, for I shall continue still to vote in support of the present administration ; nay I shall vote for the present question, notwithstanding all I have said against it ; and, for this reason, because the treaty is signed, the treaty is ratified, and should we give a negative to it, or take a step to disappoint the performance of it, it would affect his majesty's honour, and lessen the influence and respect which his majesty has so justly obtained abroad, and which is so necessary for the public good. I shall continue to act on the same principles, in support of this family and our happy constitution, as I have invariably done for so many years. I shall act in concert with that body of gentlemen who are without doors called the old corps ; a body of men, who with scarce any other bias or encouragement than that of voting agreeably to their own sentiments, have never swerved from pursuing an uniform conduct for the preservation of the present establishment. And if I may be so vain as to suppose that I have influence or weight with them, I must intreat and exhort them to join with me, notwithstanding what I may have said to the disadvantage of this measure, in acquiescing this time in it, with a persuasion that the door will not only be shut, but barred and barricaded for the future against the dangerous system of granting subsidies to foreign powers in time of profound tranquillity.

“ Mr. Charlton, I beg pardon for having troubled the committee so long ; but I hope it will make some amends to let them know it will be the last time I shall do it upon matters of state, particularly with regard to foreign affairs. They are now conducted and carried to a height far beyond my reach and comprehension, which I am ready to attribute to my own weakness and want of understanding, on account of my advanced age ; and therefore I shall limit my attention and concern, in this house, for the future, to those low trifles that relate to wool, the woollen manufacture, and the improvement of our trade. With respect to more
weighty

weighty and arduous affairs, I shall follow the advice of my namesake Horace :

“ Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne

“ Peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.”

This speech was heard with profound silence and attention. Mr. Pitt, although he had warmly defended the bavarian treaty, coincided with Mr. Walpole in disapproving the new subsidiary treaties, was much struck with this effusion, and requested him to consign it to writing. Mr. Walpole complied with his request ; and Mr. Pitt acknowledged, in the most flattering terms, the high satisfaction which he derived from the perusal.

“ Dear Sir, I return you the packet you was so good to send me, together with a thousand thanks for the favour, your speech contains such very weighty matter ; and, from beginning to end, breathes the spirit of a man who loves his country. If your endeavours contribute to the honest end you aim at, namely, to check foreign expences, and prevent entanglements abroad, under a situation burdened and exhausted at present, and liable to many alarming apprehensions in futurity, you deserve the thanks of this generation, and will have those of the next. I am, with very great regard, dear sir,

“ Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

“ W. PITT.”

Mr. Walpole seems to have adhered to the resolution with which he concluded this speech, never again to deliver his sentiments in parliament on the conduct of foreign affairs ; for from this period I perceive no traces of his parliamentary interference, either in the periodical publications of the times, or among his own papers, excepting his exertions relative to trade and manufactures, which he never intermitted. He likewise fulfilled his parliamentary duties, in regard to every regulation which concerned the domestic interests of his country, and was particularly zealous in support of the marriage bill ; in the progress of which he seems to have objected to the prerogative enjoyed by the archbishop of Canterbury, of granting special licences. On this subject I find, among his papers, an interesting letter from the venerable prelate, archbishop Herring, who then filled that see.

“ Dear

“ Dear Sir,

Lambeth House, May 17, 1753.

“ If the following letter be considered as wrote to a senator, I am sensible it were impertinent, if not presumptuous ; if as to a friend, it will plead a title to his indulgence.

“ I heard a little of the debate in the house of commons on Monday last, and have conceived hopes, from the issue of it, that the bill against clandestine marriages will return to the lords, and receive the confirmation of the legislature. There is one clause in it, reserving a part of the archbishop of Canterbury’s prerogative, as to granting special licences, which it seems was natural to think would give room for observation ; and indeed very justly, as the power there reserved, if not lodged in safe hands, might, in a great measure, defeat the good effect of the whole bill. I was told that you was pleased to make that observation, and to enlarge upon the mischievous consequences just now suggested.

“ By the favour of the king I am now entrusted with the execution of that power ; and if I found it detrimental to the public, or at all likely to interfere with the good designs of this act, should be ashamed to appear as an advocate for its continuance.

“ The design of the legislature, in leaving such a power in being, is very apparent by the constant use and application of it ; and I suppose, as it was judged proper to preserve it, it was thought it could no where be so safely lodged as in the hands of one, whose high station and character must put him above all corruption, and who received no emolument to himself from the issuing of those licences. Practice has confirmed the wisdom of that parliament in this respect ; and I question whether the registers of the office afford a single instance of a mischievous and corrupt abuse of this power, in the hands of the archbishops, since the Reformation : I am told they do not.

“ You know me very well, sir, and how little my nature carries me to aim at high powers and prerogatives ; and yet, when I find them vested in my character, never abused by my predecessors, nor by myself, it would not, perhaps, sit so easy upon me, to find myself divested of them without some very great and important reason ; much greater, and more important, than a possibility (for probability there is none from past times,) that the powers may come to be abused. I think it would not shew
much

much loftiness of spirit to be a little anxious to guard against such indignity, which would be the more apparent too, if, to obviate the mischief of clandestine marriages, it should be found necessary, in the same act, to put a stop to the scandalous practices at May Fair and the Fleet, and guard against the corruptions of the archbishop of Canterbury's prerogative. It would naturally hurt an archbishop to see his court classed with such infamous company.

“ I take the liberty, sir, to suggest these few things to you in the character of a friend. Senators must be above all partialities ; and yet, as the world goes, and always has gone, there are a thousand circumstances in the conduct of public affairs, which will admit of great indulgences in point of time, and a manner of doing what is right. She might deserve to be taken down ; but it was a mortification to the poor bird in the fable, that the arrow which wounded her was fledged from her own wing. There are times, indeed, when friendship becomes criminal by its influence : but those are times of deep moment ; in the common affairs of life, there is great room for her operation.

“ I am afraid, dear sir, you will think me much too serious in this matter ; but I write only to yourself, and if you think it will be impossible, as a good patriot, to acquiesce in this power being left vested in the see of Canterbury, I shall applaud your integrity, but shall not help wishing that the blow had come from some other hand ; and shall look upon it as an infelicity, that this diminution of the honour of the see should happen when I was possessed of it, and without any instances of corruption proved, or, that I can hear, alledged, either in the times of my predecessors or my own.”

CHAPTER 37.

1754.

Coolness between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham—Death of Mr. Pelham—Consequences of that Event—Cabals for the Management of the House of Commons—Rise and Character of Mr. Pitt—Contests with Mr. Fox—Arrangement of the New Administration—Sir Thomas Robinson Secretary of State—Opposed by Pitt and Fox—Resigns, and is succeeded by Mr. Fox—Dismissal of Mr. Pitt.

THE intimate friendship which had long subsisted between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham, and had been cemented by a coincidence of opinion, seems to have been interrupted on this occasion ; a misfortune which they both pathetically lamented. Mr. Pelham had always considered Mr. Walpole as his master in state affairs, and derived great advantage from his diplomatic knowledge and political foresight: he uniformly approved his sentiments on the conduct of foreign affairs, and was no less an enemy to the useless subsidiary treaties for the choice of a king of the Romans. But, to use the expression of a person * who knew him well, “ he was always drawn, and generally dragged, by the duke of Newcastle, and, though constantly disagreeing with his brother, yet, from his love of peace, and his aversion to disunite the Whig party, he finally yielded, and continued to support his projects.”

Mr. Walpole highly appreciated the candour and integrity of the minister ; and though their close political connection was suspended, yet he always spoke of him in terms of respect and affection, and no one more sincerely lamented his death, which happened in March 1754.

This event was a great loss to his country and to his party. England being on the eve of a war with France, great exertions were necessary, and unanimity requisite to enforce those exertions, and to excite spirit and zeal among all orders of men in the kingdom. His loss to his party

was

* Mr. Fox, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams,

was almost irreparable; his integrity was universally acknowledged, his complacent temper and conciliating manners had cemented the discordant parts of his heterogeneous administration; his preponderating influence in the house of commons repressed those ambitious spirits who aspired to the supreme direction of affairs, and his death opened a new scene of competition, which distracted the counsels of the cabinet.

Mr. Pelham was succeeded in the treasury by his brother the duke of Newcastle, who, though a nobleman of high honour, unblemished integrity, and considerable abilities, yet was of too jealous and unstable a temper to manage the house of commons with equal address and suavity, and to guide the reins of government, without a coadjutor, at so arduous a conjuncture. The seals of chancellor of the exchequer and of secretary of state, vacant by the death of Mr. Pelham and the promotion of the duke of Newcastle, became the objects of contention. The persons, who now aspired to the management of the house of commons, were Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, whose parliamentary abilities had for some time divided the suffrages of the nation; who had long fostered reciprocal jealousy, and who now became public rivals for power. Both these rival statesmen were younger brothers, nearly of the same age; both were educated at Eton, both distinguished for classical knowledge, both commenced their parliamentary career at the same period*, and both raised themselves to eminence by their superior talents; yet no two characters were ever more contrasted.

Mr. Fox inherited a strong and vigorous constitution, was profuse and dissipated in his youth, and, after squandering his private patrimony, went abroad to extricate himself from his embarrassments. On his return he obtained a seat in parliament, and warmly attached himself to Sir Robert Walpolé, whom he idolised, and to whose patronage he was indebted for the place of surveyor-general of the board of works. In 1743 he was appointed one of the lords of the treasury, and in 1746 secretary at war, which office he now filled. His marriage, in 1744, with lady Caroline Lennox, daughter of the duke of Richmond, though at first displeasing to the family, yet finally strengthened his political connections. He was equally a man of pleasure and business, formed for social and
convivial

* Mr. Fox was born in 1705, and came into parliament in 1735.

Mr. Pitt was born in 1708, and came into parliament in 1736.

convivial intercourse ; of an unruffled temper and frank disposition. No statesmen acquired more adherents, not merely from political motives, but swayed by his agreeable manners, and attached to him from personal friendship, which he fully merited by his zeal in promoting their interests. He is justly characterised, even by lord Chesterfield, “as having no fixed principles of religion or morality, and as too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them.” As a parliamentary orator, he was occasionally hesitating and perplexed ; but, when warmed with his subject, he spoke with an animation and rapidity which appeared more striking from his former hesitation. His speeches were not crowded with flowers of rhetoric, or distinguished by brilliancy of diction ; but were replete with sterling sense and sound argument. He was quick in reply, keen in repartee, and skilful in discerning the temper of the house. He wrote without effort or affectation ; his public dispatches were manly and perspicuous, and his private letters easy and animated. Though of an ambitious spirit, he regarded money as a principal object, and power only as a secondary concern.

Mr. Pitt, at an early period of his life, suffered extremely from the attacks of an hereditary gout* ; hence, though fond of active diversions, and attached to the sports of the field, he employed the leisure of frequent confinement in improving the advantages of his education, and in laying the foundation of extensive and useful knowledge, which he increased during his travels by an assiduous attention to foreign history and foreign manners. He is generally represented as of a haughty, unbending and imperious temper, and too proudly conscious of his own superior talents ; but they who thus characterise him, are ill acquainted with his real disposition. The repeated attacks of a painful disorder did not sour his temper, but rendered him more susceptible of the comforts of domestic, and the pleasures of social life. He was an agreeable and lively companion, possessed great versatility of wit, adapted to all characters and all occasions ; excelled in epigrammatic turns, and light pieces of poetry, and even condescended to join in songs of mirth and festivity.

On

* Some writers have erroneously represented Mr. Pitt as of a weak and sickly frame ; but his constitution was naturally vigorous, till his

health was weakened by repeated attacks of the gout.

On his return to England, he obtained a cornecy of horse, which, with a small annuity from his family, was his only provision until he received a legacy of 10,000*l.* from the duchess of Marlborough. From family connections, and early habits, he formed strict intimacy with his school-fellows, Mr. Lyttleton and the Grenvilles; attached himself to lord Cobham, and became a partisan of Leicester-house. In 1736, he came into parliament for the borough of Old Sarum, and instantly commenced his opposition to the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. His bitter invectives drew on him the resentment of the minister, and he was deprived of his cornecy; but was recompensed by his own party with the appointment of groom of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales. He continued in opposition until the arrangement of the Broad Bottom ministry, when all the friends of lord Cobham were gratified with places, except Mr. Pitt, who received the promise of some future employment when the king's antipathy could be removed. The attempt to introduce him into the office of secretary at war occasioned the temporary resignation of the Pelhams, which terminating in their re-establishment, Mr. Pitt was successively promoted to the posts of vice-treasurer of Ireland and pay-master of the forces.

It is difficult to describe the precise characteristics of his parliamentary eloquence; his speeches were not so remarkable for methodical arrangement and logical precision, as for boldness of language, grandeur of sentiment, and the graces of metaphorical and classical allusion. They were not, however, distinguished by a continued glow of animated language, but illuminated with sudden flashes of wit and eloquence, which have been compared to the transient and dazzling splendour of lightning. "His invectives," to use the words of a contemporary statesman, "were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant of his sublime genius*."

Among

* Lord Chesterfield's character of Mr. Pitt. The character and genius of Mr. Pitt's oratory are likewise well defined by a contemporary prelate, who frequently heard him in both houses,

and compared him to Pericles, "who lightened, thundered, and confounded Greece."

"Mr. Pitt possessed extraordinary powers; quick conceptions, a ready elocution, great command

Among his eminent qualifications as an orator, that of turning his vindication into an attack, and from the defender becoming the accuser, was not the least conspicuous. Another excellence, not generally attributed to him, he also displayed in an eminent degree; the art of explaining what he had uttered with too much warmth, and of soothing the person whom he wished to conciliate*.

Mr. Pitt possessed great elevation of mind, and his ruling passion was the love of power; he was distinguished for his disinterestedness and contempt of money, which, being attended with a total want of economy, often involved him in pecuniary distresses. Although this sketch is principally confined to the public character of this great statesman, yet it would be unjust to omit one amiable trait of his domestic life. Though deeply im-

mersed

command of language, a melodious voice, a speaking countenance, an authoritative air and manner, and was as great an actor as an orator. During his successful administration, he had the most absolute and uncontrouled sway ever enjoyed by any minister in the house of commons. With all these excellencies, he was not without his defects. His language was sometimes too figurative and pompous; his speeches seldom well connected, often desultory, and rambling from one thing to another; so that though you were struck here and there with noble sentiments and happy expressions, yet you could not well remember and give a clear account of the whole together. With affected modesty, he was apt to be rather too confident in debate, sometimes descended to personal invectives, and would first commend, that he might afterwards more effectually abuse; would ever have the last word, and, right or wrong, still preserve (to use his own phrase) an unembarrassed countenance. He spoke more to your passions, than to your reason; more to those below the bar, and above the throne, than to the house itself; and when that kind of audience was excluded, he lost much of his weight and authority.—Bishop Newton's Life.

* A striking instance of this fascinating quality is recorded in lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal, on the debate for the grant of an additional subsidy to the empress queen, which revived the old clamour about the hanoverian troops:

“Those who talked the same language with lord Doneraile, were, Sir G. Oxenden, Sir John Rushout, and Dr. Lee; the latter called this measure the fruit of a new alliance, which he insinuated would be of no long duration. Mr. Pitt said, it was a meritorious and popular measure, which did honour to the minister who advised it, and the prince who so graciously vouchsafed to follow it, and must give pleasure to every honest heart. As to what had been thrown out, that the queen might take them into her pay when they were dismissed from ours, he did not like the queen the less for that; he supposed she was at liberty to take or refuse them. God forbid they should be forced upon her on the one hand, or, on the other, that those unfortunate troops should, by our votes, be proscribed at every court in Europe! It was sufficient that the ill consequences which were apprehended from the voting them year after year as part of our army, and upon the foot of a rival establish-

mersed in the most important affairs of state, he never forgot the duties of a father, but always paid the most unremitted attention to the education and morals of his children.

Although Mr. Pitt had accepted a place in administration, and supported in general the measures of government; yet his independent spirit occasionally broke forth, particularly against the Bill of Naturalization, though proposed by Mr. Pelham. He supported the Bavarian treaty; but so highly disapproved the profusion of subsidies for the election of a king of the Romans, that he took no share in the discussion of the Saxon and Palatine treaties, and continued silent during the two next sessions of parliament. This silence was not wholly derived from his political sentiments; but arose partly from his disappointment on the resignation of the duke of Bedford, when he expected the office of secretary of state; though he did not condescend to solicit it. This disappointment made a deep impression on his ambitious spirit, and he seems to have meditated

a se-

establishment, had been removed by his majesty's wisdom and goodness. The reflections cast out on Lord G.'s friends, and the strong terms in which the merit of this question was extolled by Mr. Pitt, drew up Sir H. Lyddel; he expressed himself with sense and propriety, but a good deal of warmth. It was indifferent to him in what canal the Hanover troops were paid, provided their service was not lost to the public; but he thought the manner in which the question was treated by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, required explanation; because, if it passed without one, it might carry an appearance to the world that the house was of opinion, these troops, let the occasion be ever so pressing, could never roll with the British; and as he was confirmed in the sentiments he declared on that head the last session, by the good harmony which had subsisted between the two corps during the last campaign, he would take the judgment of the house as to their compatibility or incompatibility, and hoped for assistance in framing a motion to that purpose.

Pitt carried himself, in his reply, with all the art and temper imaginable; he soothed and complimented Sir H. Lyddel, at the same time put the question in a more just and equitable light. That the honourable gentleman had quoted his words exactly, but mistook his meaning, which was not to give the least offence to a heart so honourable and honest as his; that he considered the question as an expedient for unanimity, without making any invidious retrospect to what had passed in former debates; that he heartily wished all the differences they had occasioned might be buried in oblivion, and not revived again to the reproach of any gentleman whatsoever. He covertly insinuated to Sir H. his question would only serve an interest, which he did not doubt they both rejoiced at the removal of, and should be sorry to see restored. Sir Henry came off very handsomely; thanked Pitt for telling him of his warmth, and acknowledged, as his question might be improper at this juncture, he would lay aside all thoughts of it."

a secession from the ministry, and, with lord Cobham and his other friends, turned his attention to Leicester-house; but their schemes were defeated by the death of the prince of Wales. He retained, however, his office, and continued a lukewarm supporter of government, until the death of Mr. Pelham again awakened his expectations.

The views of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were now directed to the same object; they had long been rivals for power, and candidates for fame. During the first eight years of their parliamentary career, they had opposed each other with warmth and acrimony: and though, from the establishment of the Broad Bottom ministry, they had concurred in the support of the same cause; yet they had given way to occasional bickerings and altercations, particularly during the progress of the Mutiny and Regency bills. In the midst of these jealousies, however, they both exhibited striking proofs of their candour and reciprocal esteem: when Mr. Fox was designated by the public voice as successor to lord Chesterfield, Mr. Pitt made a voluntary offer of his influence and support; and Mr. Fox, in a confidential letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, mentions Mr. Pitt as “a man whom he liked and admired *.”

In the struggle for power which ensued on the death of Mr. Pelham, the two rival candidates were disappointed; Sir Thomas Robinson was nominated secretary of state, and Mr. Legge, after a short delay, chancellor of the exchequer.

All the important business of parliament having been settled before the death of Mr. Pelham, and the new ministerial arrangements not being concluded, no material event occurred during the remainder of the short session, which was closed on the sixth of April, and the parliament dissolved on the eighth. The plan for the new elections, settled by Mr. Pelham, and approved by the king, was carried into execution by the duke of Newcastle; the first session was opened by the duke of Cumberland and other lords, under a commission from the king, on the 31st of May; and after the usual forms of choosing a speaker, and swearing the members, the parliament was immediately prorogued. The second session of this parliament, which was no less loyal than the former, commenced on the 14th of November 1754, and passed with the same quiet and unanimity.

Both

* February 18, 1751. Hanbury Papers.

Both houses displayed equal zeal in supporting the measures adopted by government against the approaching hostilities with France, by voting the requisite number of forces, and by granting adequate supplies. The only remarkable instance of an opposition to government, was a motion made by lord Poulet in the house of peers, for an address, requesting his majesty not to quit the kingdom in so critical and dangerous a juncture ; but, not being seconded, it was negatived without a division.

The unusual calm and tranquillity of this session seemed to announce stability and union in the ministry ; but the cabinet was torn by intestine dissensions, and the summer was passed in cabals which terminated in a new arrangement. To trace the causes of these disagreements, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of the state of the cabinet, and of parties, since the death of Mr. Pelham. The king, after his ineffectual attempt to remove the Pelhams, submitted with reluctance to their sway, and, impressed with the maxim of Sir Robert Walpole, *tranquilla non movere*, sunk into acquiescence in their measures. As he was governed by habit, his antipathy gradually subsided into indifference, and he retained only his resolution to exclude from the cabinet those who were personally obnoxious to him. On the death of Mr. Pelham, he transferred his whole confidence to the duke of Newcastle, to whom he entrusted the management of the house of commons, and the ministerial arrangements.

The king, however, retained a high degree of affection and regard for his son the duke of Cumberland, and was occasionally swayed by his advice. The duke himself was a prince of high spirit and considerable talents, and possessed great influence in parliament, from the number of his adherents, among whom Mr. Fox was eminently conspicuous.

Amelia Sophia de Walmoden, created countess of Yarmouth, was the avowed mistress of the king. He became attached to her at the court of Hanover, soon after his dismissal of lady Suffolk, but never brought her to England during the life of queen Caroline. Mr. Walpole thus describes her person and character in a letter to princess Amelia, written in 1736: "As to her person, she is not very handsome ; is much marked with the small-pox ; ever since her last lying-in, is extremely pale, and not perfectly well ; has by no means an agreeable mouth : however, the shape and air of her countenance has a great deal of sweetness, which,
joined

joined with a pleasing and affable address, makes her very engaging. And as her whole care and art is employed in endeavouring to amuse and divert, instead of teasing and soliciting the prince for favours, as dames of her station are used to do, he is extremely taken with her; and, while she certainly asks for no great boons for herself or friends, yet she is of so mild and good a disposition, that she is thought never to speak ill of any body, and to do all the good offices she can, by her conversation in general; which keeps the prince in good humour, gains her the good-will of the whole court, and as much love and as little malice as is possible from the ladies, who all wish that they could be in her place."

Thus, unassuming and unambitious, she did not, like the mistresses of George the First, interfere in political intrigues. She was principally desirous to amass riches, and was occasionally gratified by the king himself with the disposal of a pegrage or the garter. She was, however, much courted by the minister; as her influence over the temper of the king kept him in good humour, and she knew how to introduce memorials or letters on proper occasions, which relieved the king from personal importunities. At this period she gave her full confidence to the duke of Newcastle, and exerted her influence in promoting his views.

Notwithstanding, however, the possession of the king's confidence, and lady Yarmouth's influence, the duke of Newcastle was perplexed in the distribution of places, and as much embarrassed in his choice of co-adjutors, as if he had been thwarted by cabals in the closet. His jealous temper rendered him unwilling to admit any persons, likely from their talents, weight or influence, to supersede his authority; he was therefore averse to nominate, for his coadjutor, either Mr. Fox or Mr. Pitt; the former, because he was agreeable to the king, and warmly supported by the duke of Cumberland; and the latter, on account of his aspiring temper and transcendant abilities. But both were too highly esteemed by the public, and had too many adherents in parliament to be wholly overlooked on this occasion.

Mr. Fox had importuned for the posts occupied by Mr. Pelham as due to his past services; but finding that the duke of Newcastle had designed the treasury for himself, he applied for the office of secretary of state; and through the intervention of the marquis of Hartington, obtained a promise

mise of the seals, accompanied, as he thought, with the direction of the house of commons. His nomination was even announced to the cabinet council, and he wrote circular letters to the members, declaring that the king had been pleased to entrust him with the conduct of the house of commons. But discovering, in a conference with Newcastle, that he was not to have the management of the house of commons, he refused to submit to what he called a degradation, and declined the acceptance of the seals.

Mr. Pitt, as before, made no solicitation, but expected the offer of the seals; and when he heard of Mr. Fox's appointment, complained that he was not consulted, but only informed, and that his inveterate enemy was raised to a post which was his due. But the duke of Newcastle, who was less desirous of having Mr. Pitt as a coadjutor than Mr. Fox, alleged the king's personal antipathy as an excuse for his exclusion*, and gave the office to Sir Thomas Robinson, whose extensive knowledge of foreign affairs, and long residence at the court of Vienna, rendered him a proper person to fill the northern department.

The duke of Newcastle, however, endeavoured to sooth Mr. Pitt, by appointing his brothers-in-law, Mr. George and Mr. James Grenville, to the offices of treasurer of the navy, and lord of the treasury, and his friend Mr. Lyttleton to the post of cofferer of the household. Mr. Legge, a person of considerable talents and great popularity, was, after a short delay, constituted chancellor of the exchequer; and other changes were made in the subordinate offices, calculated to give strength to government.

All parties were dissatisfied with these arrangements, and their dissatisfaction was augmented by the subsequent conduct of the duke of Newcastle, whose only view was to engross the sole confidence of the sovereign. Even most of those who had been raised to new offices were no less discontented. Mr. Legge complained that he was a mere cypher in government, and the Grenvilles thought their rank and connections deserved more consideration than they received, and declared that nothing would satisfy them while their great friend Mr. Pitt was dissatisfied.

This

* Lord Melcombe's Diary.

This being the state of parties, the two rival orators naturally repressed their reciprocal jealousy, and, though they retained their places, united their endeavours to counteract the measures of the new secretary of state. Sir Thomas Robinson, who has been already mentioned as the secretary and friend of Mr. Walpole, though personally agreeable to the king, and, by his diplomatic knowledge, eminently qualified for fulfilling the duties of his office, was yet ill calculated to resist the weight of the combination against him. He was without parliamentary influence ; and though he spoke with judgment and information, and conducted the business of government with credit through the second session of the parliament, while the two great orators were silent, yet was unable to enter the lists against the gigantic talents of Pitt and Fox when they meditated opposition.

At the close of the session, perceiving the increasing embarrassments of his situation, he determined to resign ; but retained his office till a successor could be appointed. The contest for the seals immediately recommenced, and the summer of 1755 was passed in intrigues and negotiations, which terminated in his resignation in November 1755, a few days before the opening of the third session*.

* Sir Thomas Robinson, on his resignation, was re-appointed master of the wardrobe ; in 1761 created lord Grantham, and died in 1770. Lord Grantham married Frances, third daughter of Thomas Worsley, of Herringham, in the county of York, esq. by whom he left two sons and two daughters. Thomas, who was nominated ambassador to the court of Madrid in 1771 ; soon after his return to England, in 1779, he was appointed first lord of trade, and July 1782 secretary of state for foreign affairs, and concluded the preliminaries of peace in January 1783. He died in July 1786, leaving by his wife, Mary Jemima, youngest daughter of Philip, second earl of Hardwicke, by the marchioness Grey, Thomas Philip, the present lord Grantham, born in Dec. 1781, and Frederick John, born Nov. 1782.

Frederick, the youngest son of Sir Thomas Robinson, was intended for the law ; but, on the mission of his brother to Spain, he was appointed secretary to that embassy. After his return to England, he was elected member of parliament for Ripon, in 1780, and died in December 1792, leaving no issue by his wife, Catherine Gertrude, second daughter of James Harris, esq. of the Close of Salisbury, (the distinguished author of *Hermes* and other philosophical works,) and sister to the present earl of Malmesbury.

The two daughters of the first lord Grantham were, Ann, unmarried, and Theresa, who espoused in 1769 John Parker, esq. of Sultram in Devonshire, who, in 1784, was created lord Boringdon. She died in 1775.



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*Your Excellency's
most obedient
& most humble servant
Robinson*

SIR THOMAS ROBINSON 1st. LORD GRANTHAM

From a Miniature in the Possession of the Hon^{ble} Miss Robinson

CHAPTER 38.

1754—1755.

Mr. Walpole is eagerly courted by the Duke of Newcastle—Letter from the Duke on the Encroachments of the French in America, and on the Contests for Pre-eminence in the House of Commons—Anxiety of Mr. Walpole to prevent the Departure of the King—At a Conference with the Ministers, reads his Thoughts on the Situation of Affairs—Letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the same Subject—Departure of the King for Hanover.

DURING the struggles for these arrangements, the support of Mr. Walpole was anxiously courted by all parties, as well because he was the principal leader of the old corps, as from the deference which the duke of Devonshire paid to his advice.

The ensuing winter Mr. Walpole attended, as usual, his duty in parliament; and, foreseeing the approaching rupture, exerted his influence over his friends and party, to induce them to co-operate in the support of government. His services, on this occasion, were highly appreciated by the cabinet; and he was admitted to a more than usually confidential intercourse by the duke of Newcastle, as will appear from an extract of a letter from his grace to Mr. Walpole, dated Clermont, October 20, 1754, which also exhibits the state of the contest for predominance in the house of commons.

“As to our North American affair, the behaviour, I may say, the hostile behaviour of the French is so notorious, and would, if permitted, finally end in the loss of those colonies, that, agreeably to what you advised, we were of opinion that effectual measures should be taken to redress those grievances, to defend our colonies, and regain our lost possessions. As this would be entirely a military operation, we *civil* ministers were at a loss whom to recommend, and what measures to take, especially knowing the difficulty; and that whatever *we* did, would be

disapproved by *military men*. Upon which I took the liberty to desire the king to send Sir Thomas Robinson to the duke's, to consult his royal highness : that produced a formal meeting with his royal highness and the king's servants ; and the present scheme, and the measures for conducting it, and for the execution of it, are entirely his royal highness's.

“ I have differed a little as to some preparatory steps, which I thought might be more frugally and as effectually done another way ; but as the duke and the secretary at war persisted in thinking otherwise, I have in great measure acquiesced. I am persuaded you will approve what I have done, when I have time to inform you of the particulars. Though this measure (in some shape or other) was absolutely necessary, and I hope in this shape will be effectual, I see the danger there may be of France's taking it too strongly ; but that must be ventured. I have wrote a private letter to lord Albemarle*, that we do nothing but what they have forced us to, and now at once, perhaps, what they have been doing every year since the peace of Aix-la-chapelle. I have desired him to explain this so in his conversation, which (I should hope) would enable the pacific part of the administration, and particularly madame de Pompadour, and the duke de Mirepoix, to prevent any ill consequences from this, which they had brought upon themselves.

“ Our affairs in Spain go well, though our friends let slip their opportunity of getting rid of all their enemies ; and weakness and solicitation have obtained a pension of 2000 pistoles per annum for Ensenada, whose crime was having amassed an immense fortune at the public expence, for which he was to have been prosecuted. But things are certainly vastly mended ; and I verily believe that there is an end (for the present, at least,) of french counsels and french influence : and that, I hope, will tend to discourage France from any inclination to war. So that no ill consequence will happen from our necessary measures of vigour in North America.

“ I hope we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you in town. As I am now your next door neighbour at Whitehall, I hope to have your advice without any inconvenience to yourself. I think our money matters are settled, so as to give no cause of disturbance or uneasiness to any body.

I have

* The british ambassador at Paris.

I have prevailed upon Sir John Barnard to lay aside the thought of converting the redeemable 3 per cent. annuities into annuities for lives on terms of years, *for this session*. That would certainly have created opposition, as I found by the discourses which I have had upon the subject, both with monied men and country gentlemen ; which last are very unwilling to think of any diminution of the sinking fund ; as that, in case of a war, must fall upon them by the increase of the land-tax, or creating some new fund. I don't find that *measures* are blamed ; the only point of difference is personal.

“ Some great persons in the house of commons don't think their merit rewarded, and therefore endeavour to have it thought that there is a necessity of having a minister, or the minister, in the house of commons ; concluding, I suppose, that, that principle once established, every body has his chance. As this affects the king's system and present arrangement only, and not the conduct and behaviour of any particular person in his employment, I am persuaded that the majority of this house of commons will not enter into any scheme of this kind. It would be very improper in me to hint this to any one, but to one in whom I have an entire confidence, and who can, upon this occasion, be of the greatest service to persuade some who may not be altogether unbiassed by this principle *or trap*, and to influence others to see the impropriety of it, or little foundation for it.

“ I have now told you the whole grievance : you will make your use of it ; but I must beg that it may not be known that it comes from me. I have several more things to say, but indeed have not time ; I hope to hear that you will be soon in town. You see I have at last got the ribbon for Sir Benjamin * ; that pleases him : but he still insists upon coming home in the spring. How shall we replace him there, or satisfy him here ? I shall have all possible attention to obey all the commands I receive from you, either with regard to yourself to the utmost of my power, or to your Norfolk friends, who deserve so well of the king and his servants.

“ P. S. I shall give the greatest attention to your scheme to prevent running wool from Ireland.”

Mr.

* Sir Benjamin Keene, who was warmly patronised by the Walpole family, and distinguished himself by his diplomatic talents in the embassy to Spain.

Mr. Walpole was alarmed, at this period, at the fatal disagreement which had again recently broke forth between the courts of St. James's and Leicester-house; at the dangerous discordance in administration; at the coolness between the dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle; and dreaded lest the war, which was now impending, with France, might be carried on in the same inefficient manner as the last, and be attended with the most fatal consequences, should the king continue in his resolution of leaving the kingdom. The only remedies which occurred to Mr. Walpole, were, either to prevent the departure of the king, or to place the duke of Cumberland at the head of the regency, with the concurrence of the princess of Wales. Impressed with these apprehensions, he paid an early visit to Mr. Stone, for the purpose of laying his scheme before the duke of Newcastle. He had the satisfaction to find that the same ideas had occurred to Mr. Stone, and had been already suggested.

By his grace's desire, Mr. Walpole drew up a paper relative to the situation of affairs, which he read in a select meeting at Newcastle-house, at which were present the dukes of Newcastle, Devonshire and Grafton; the lord chancellor, the marquis of Hartington, and the earl of Waldegrave, governor of the prince of Wales.

"The situation of affairs is most critical and perilous. Whether peace or war is uncertain; and, in either case, the conduct of affairs must be extremely difficult, and absolutely requires his majesty's presence. This uncertainty may not be over for some time, and yet may suddenly demand a speedy decision; can that be done in the king's absence?"

"In the mean time, can the parliament be prorogued under such an uncertainty? and if prorogued, can, in the king's absence, the proper steps be taken in parliament for the approbation of the terms of peace, or more vigorous measures, by raising more men and money for the defence of his kingdoms, and supporting a war, as the exigencies may require? Will not innumerable and unanswerable difficulties and questions be started, nobody knows from what quarter, and upon what foot, in a parliament under no direction or controul? In short, the want of his majesty's weight and presence will make all negotiations and operations imperfect, if not impracticable.

"If

“ If his majesty should go abroad, in case of a war, the severest reflections and clamours will be general and loud, both from the well-affected and disaffected, against his majesty’s ministers. Their zealous endeavours to keep him at home will scarce be believed, and, if believed, will still have a worse effect, by raising sedition and discontent personally against his majesty, to a degree that it is terrible to think of.

“ In this distracted situation there will be, in a manner, a dissolution of government. France may be tempted to undertake such enterprises as she never thought of before ; such as the regal and legal authority of the cabinet council will not have unanimity and authority enough to obviate, or disappoint in time, especially in military matters. As the duke of Cumberland is not one of the regency, he will not, it may perhaps be apprehended, look upon himself to be so absolutely under the direction and orders of the regency, as to obey implicitly, without knowing the king’s pleasure, their plans or orders. Or can he be supposed to be in so good humour with the chief of them, as to propose plans himself, in matters which he certainly knows better than any of them? Nay, may it not be possible, that, according to the general distress or alarm, whether in Britain or in Ireland ; may not, I say, some persons of consideration, that are the best affected, even those that did not desire to make his royal highness regent upon the demise of the king, call for the assistance of the duke of Cumberland, to save the whole family in such an extremity? Good God! what confusion! what disorder among the friends! What pleasure, what advantage, to the enemies of the government!

“ As to treaties and measures that may be concerted for a diversion, or in opposition to France and her allies abroad, which can be only made with the queen of Hungary and Russia, (for the States will never be brought to take any part,) it is not easy to shew what can be done of any consequence with those powers ; but in his majesty’s absence, any thing of that nature will be treated with scorn and ridicule in England. What then is to be done? There seems to remain the following expedients :

“ 1st. That the ministers should let his majesty know, in the most humble and dutiful manner, that so many unforeseen difficulties and distresses may arise, that it is impossible for them, with their utmost zeal, at-
tention,

tention, and fidelity, to obey his majesty's commands, either during the negotiations to prevent a war; and the more so, in case of a war, to undertake to carry on the government of this country with honour and safety, as persons and things may be disposed and constituted in his majesty's absence: or, 2d, humbly to beseech his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased, if he is resolved to go abroad, to appoint the duke of Cumberland regent; and that they are ready to support his royal highness with their counsel and assistance in their respective stations.

"This expedient may, at first, raise several disagreeable reflections *in a certain place*, as well as among the ministers who have not that intimacy and correspondence with his royal highness as were to be wished, and indeed must be brought about, in case it be carried into execution.

"But, to remove all jealousies, this only necessary measure, for the safety of this government, in his majesty's absence, should be first opened and broke, in a manner to show the necessity of it, *in that place*, by a proper intercourse and correspondence of persons that have the greatest influence and credit there, and settled by degrees in concert between the princess of Wales and the duke of Cumberland, with the intervention of the chief ministers, and be proposed by her royal highness to the king. But if this expedient cannot take place, there seems nothing left to prevent the general calamity and confusion that threatens, but that the princess of Wales should take the first opportunity to fling herself at his majesty's feet, and, encompassed with the chief of her royal children, most humbly implore the king, for their sakes, in the most moving and submissive manner, not to leave these kingdoms, and abandon his royal progeny, after so many marks of his paternal tenderness and affection for them, at a juncture that may, by his absence, expose them to the greatest dangers.

"If nothing that goes before can be obtained, it is to be apprehended that persons of great weight and consideration, and who will by no means go into a peevish motion of a disgraced lord of the bedchamber, may, when that is over, take some step of the same nature afterwards, if the king perseveres in his resolution of leaving these kingdoms at this juncture."

Mr.

Mr. Walpole still further enforced these considerations, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle :

“ My Dear Lord,

Cockpit, April 15, 1755.

“ I look upon the confidence of being admitted to a private meeting at your grace’s house, the 12th instant, with persons of so great consideration, and upon matters of such importance, at so critical a juncture, as a greater mark of honour and regard than I can pretend to deserve ; and I hope that such an admission will justify the freedom I take, to open myself more fully to your grace, on the subject matter of that conference, than I presumed then to do.

“ The impertinence and insolence of lord Paulet’s intended motion, in his situation, and the manner he designs to make it, both with respect to his majesty and the ministry, ought to be treated accordingly ; but then the thing itself is so desirable, and so popular, that if something be not done to quiet the apprehensions of good men, and prevent the ill use that will be made of his majesty’s leaving us, by bad men, this affair will not rest there, by the present disappointment of an ill conducted motion of a peevish lord.

“ The clamours against his majesty’s resolution grow daily louder with the belief of it, and the ferment increases ; and ’tis said there will certainly be a motion in our house to divert him from it, and that the same spirit is rising in the city, which may be followed by addresses from counties and boroughs. This deserves consideration, especially as to the person by whom, and the manner in which, such a motion is to be managed, on the part of the court, in our house ; for if it be made with decency, weight, and affection to his majesty’s person and family, what may be done, on so plausible and interesting a subject, by members of no great eloquence and parts, and much more so by those that are able, (and nobody knows who may take a part in it when once started,) may have a most irresistible effect.

“ These things, your grace knows, were not canvassed at our last meeting ; the whole time being employed upon lord Paulet’s intentions : 1st. To consider whether it was possible to dissuade his majesty from his resolution of going abroad : and 2d, As such an attempt seemed to be looked upon as vain and fruitless, whether regal authority could be so far

extended and vested with such powers, beyond what had ever been granted in the absence of the sovereign, and in such persons as may enable them to obviate the innumerable difficulties that may suddenly occur, relating to peace or war, upon exigencies that will not suffer delay, and to carry the necessary measures into execution for the common safety and defence with unanimity and vigour ; and by that means to calm the minds, in some measure, of the most considerable and best affected persons, who are at present extremely uneasy at this doubtful and dangerous situation.

“ Here your grace may remember, that the making the duke of Cumberland regent, or one of the regency, was mentioned, for reasons that were obvious, and seemed, I believe, unanswerable to some, in considering the good of the whole, as the best expedient (though none can be equivalent to his majesty’s staying in England,) in so desperate a case.

“ Your grace will pardon the liberty I take in letting you know, it was observed that lord chancellor and yourself did not seem to relish this scheme, in a manner agreeable to your great wisdom, and adequate to the apprehensions of confusion that seem to threaten the administration of government, when lodged in such a number of regents, how united or connected nobody can tell ; while, at the same time, the great personage, whose head and hand must in all likelihood be the most useful towards planning and executing what is necessary to be done, is excluded from the chief confidence and counsel in the affairs of state. Your grace was pleased to say, at the meeting, that the duke of Cumberland had been acquainted, by the proper officers in their respective stations, with every thing that had been done since the first appearance of these troubles ; and that his majesty was fully apprised of it, and satisfied with it. But your grace will pardon me for asking, and appealing to yourself, whether such a communication to the duke of Cumberland, by the officers in their several departments, though very respectable persons, of what had been projected, without a previous conference with him, by lord chancellor or your grace, can be looked upon by his royal highness as such marks of confidence for his sentiments and advice, as can satisfy one of his dignity in matters where he may be principally useful? He, without doubt, considers it as a communication *après coup*, and to save appearances only :

I don’t

I don't mean by this that his royal highness should have had a share in the administration, when things were in the ordinary and quiet course of business ; I don't presume to enter into, and be a judge of, that matter ; but in this extraordinary crisis, I can't help thinking that a constant intercourse, personally, upon a confidential foot, between the duke and the chief ministers, should take place ; and, if that can't be done, inevitable and inextricable difficulties must occur in the king's absence.

“ As to lord chancellor, whose great talents, moderation, and practicable disposition, nobody can have a greater opinion of than myself, I must own, that when I read to him at his house the paper your grace saw and heard at yours, his thoughts upon it, relating to the duke of Cumberland, appeared to me to be contracted into narrower views than seem consonant with the importance of our condition, and the disagreeable consequences apprehended from it at this great juncture. His lordship intimated to me, that his royal highness was not very popular ; and let fall something, from whence I concluded, that should he be made regent, his lordship may be of opinion it might fling the administration wholly into his royal highness's hands, jointly with others in his immediate confidence, that are not friends to the chief ministers. And I must own I made the same inference in my mind, from the manner in which his lordship expressed himself on this head at the meeting, with great modesty and candour, in looking upon the duke of Cumberland being put in that station as the greatest piece of good fortune that could happen to him ; the chancellor meaning, I suppose, that as he should not have so great a share in the administration, he should not be responsible for it.

“ Now, my dear lord, this affair strikes me in a very different light. It is certainly true, that the enemies of the government hate and detest the duke of Cumberland ; and that even some that are well affected have entertained (whether well or ill founded) their jealousies of his royal highness, if placed in the highest seat of power ; but, in desperate cases, *Salus populi*, the safety of the whole, is to be considered and preferred to abstracted notions. The reasons of the jacobites hatred operate in the strongest manner in support of what is suggested ; and as to the jealousies of those that are friends to the present family, if what is proposed should

take place, by a joint concert and approbation of the princess of Wales, those jealousies would soon vanish.

“ With respect to the present administration, if the affair relating to the duke of Cumberland should be transacted and settled, as it certainly ought to be, by the immediate management and intervention of the lord chancellor and your grace, between the royal families, it must consequently create a confidence in the conduct of affairs between the duke of Cumberland and you two; for, to whom can his royal highness give his confidence in preference to yours? He must be desirous, in such a station, to live well, for his own sake, with his majesty’s chosen ministers, with whom he must constantly confer and act. Who is there of that consequence and use, among all those that frequent and live with him, who can engage his favour and predilection in business? And, therefore, notwithstanding all former coolness and misunderstanding, I should think a round and cordial disposition, on lord chancellor and your grace’s part, to serve his royal highness as sole regent, with your council and assistance; or to act jointly and confidentially with him, if he will readily concur in the scheme of a regency, composed of as few as in former reigns, (for a great number of regents may be liable to many inconveniences,) will meet with a suitable return of confidence from him; for nothing is more frequent in courts than that the change of political stations alters political inclinations, with respect to ministers of use and service.

“ On the other hand, if, besides the labouring under general clamours against you, for your not being able or willing to keep his majesty in England, insuperable difficulties should arise in your administration, for want of the present authority and timely orders from the absent king, and an union among the regents, while the duke of Cumberland may be retired from all business and concern for the public, and the wheels of government should not only stand still, but the enemies to it take an irretrievable advantage from this confusion; what would be the fate of you both, (if this country is not lost before,) at the next meeting of a parliament under no direction or controul, and where a variety of discontents and ill humours will be afloat? Your administration can’t possibly subsist,
and

and will be dissolved with such disagreeable circumstances, that if you do not apprehend them yourselves, it will be improper for me to explain them.

“ I hope what goes before will not be understood by your grace to be said with an intention to derogate in the least from lord chancellor’s and your grace’s capacity to carry on the administration as honestly and ably as any other person, when nothing more is meant than that you should take, at a juncture that I believe never existed before, the joint assistance and counsels of those that must, by their quality and station, be the instruments, in case of imminent danger, of our preservation, and not make yourselves solely answerable for any fatal event that may possibly overtake this nation ; and God knows whether the greatest efforts and union will be sufficient.

“ In short, if a jealousy of your authority in the administration being so much retrenched, and like to fall into other hands, by the participation of it to the duke of Cumberland, is what you have most at heart ; and you have resolution and courage enough to think, that, with the ordinary powers of an usual regency in the cabinet council, or by their being farther extended in our present cloudy circumstances, to steer the helm of government by yourselves, in God’s name keep fast hold of it ! I heartily wish you all imaginable success in conducting the vessel to a safe port, through the storms that threaten ; while I retire to my cabin in the country, and expect my fate, with the rest of my fellow-subjects, praying that the great God, who only fighteth for us, may give peace in our time !”

The plan of Mr. Walpole was only partially followed ; no efforts were made by the ministry to prevent the departure of the king, and no attempts to conciliate the princess of Wales. The duke of Cumberland was placed at the head of a numerous regency, yet without sufficient power to act a decisive part in case of emergency : the parliament was prorogued on the 25th of April ; on the 28th the king embarked at Harwich for his german dominions, and the nation beheld his departure with apprehension and regret, arising from the divisions of the cabinet, the unsettled state of Europe, and the dread of a french invasion.

CHAPTER 39.

1754—1755.

Mr. Walpole writes his "Answer to the latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History."—Correspondence on that Subject.

AT this period of his life, Mr. Walpole employed himself in refuting Lord Bolingbroke. He had long been urged by his particular friends "to give an antidote," according to his own expression, "to the political venom of Bolingbroke," and seems to have meditated an answer before the death of the noble author, as appears from a letter dated July 20, 1751, to his friend Mr. Yorke :

"I would not omit the first opportunity to return you my sincere acknowledgements for your affectionate letter of the 14th, enquiring so kindly after the health of one who, if friendship and attachment to you and your family have any merit, may deserve some remembrance, although otherwise of little consequence and consideration.

"I had but a troublesome journey into the country, not being able to creep faster than three miles an hour in a chariot with springs, and that not without frequent and painful returns of my disorder. But since I came home, having kept myself quiet, and used no other motion but slow and short walks, I have been extremely well. As soon as I shall be allowed to try again a wheel-carriage, if I find myself in any degree able, I will endeavour to have the pleasure of waiting upon you at Wrest, which is never out of my thoughts.

"I am utterly a stranger to what is doing in town or court; Mr. Lyttleton*, of the treasury, and his brother, have been with me, and staid here three days; but as they could tell me nothing from above that is certain, besides that the present situation there of credit and power is uncertain, (which I believe is true,) after they were tired with walking

in

* Afterwards Lord Lyttleton.

in my lawns and my gardens, I entertained them with some historical anecdotes of former transactions and negotiations, and unread or unriddled some oraculous lectures of Pope's great genius*, which they had swallowed and believed, with as much faith, and as little foundation of truth and reason, as oracles of old had been consulted and followed. And I was better able to do it; because, during this leisure of retirement, I am employed in amusing myself with turning over and putting into order my ministerial lucubrations abroad, and should be tempted, if I had more years before me, to make an historical abstract of them, that might serve as an antidote hereafter to that venom of false facts that is now privately, and may, when those that can contradict them are no more, be publicly scattered in the world. I have troubled you too long; but can't conclude without congratulating you upon the prospect of one brother † being likely to succeed lord Holderness at the Hague, and upon the justice done to the merit of the other ‡, in being made counsel to the East India Company; for nothing can happen that can be agreeable to any branch of your family, but will give pleasure to him that is, with the most affectionate respect, &c."

From a subsequent letter to Mr. Yorke, written after the death of lord Bolingbroke, he appears to have formed a more decided resolution with respect to his intended answer.

"Wolterton, July 23, 1753. The clamours and troubles endeavoured to be raised all over England, from passing the Jews' bill, are indeed wonderful, considering it met not the least opposition in the house of lords, and had made some progress in our house before much notice was taken of it; and that was occasioned by a worthless set of Jacobites in the common council of London, under the auspices of the false popularity of Sir John Barnard; but I do not apprehend it will have any effect of consequence in the new general election against the Whigs, as there is no formidable body of opponents against the present administration existing. The last opposition was of a coalition of disappointed Patriots with disaffected Tories: the views and objects of the first ceased with the death of the late prince of Wales, and they are become reasonable and practicable mortals reunited to the old corps; the Tories are not inconsiderable in numbers, but,

* Lord Bolingbroke. † Sir Joseph Yorke, afterwards Lord Dover. ‡ The hon. Charles Yorke,

but, for want of heads and hearts, and the plausible pretext of patriotism, they are loose, disconcerted, and a band incapable of acting, and will continue so as long as the ministry has no other demands to make but what is necessary for the current service of the year in time of peace; which God long preserve! For, should new troubles break out abroad, by France resuming her ancient views, I am afraid, according to our present system of foreign politics, and the situation of Europe, we shall unavoidably be soon overtaken with innumerable troubles, and, without some miraculous turn of Providence, I apprehend we must submit to the dictates of France, or become a military government. But I have gone too far; I should not have gone so far to any body else.

“ These melancholy reflections, when foreign affairs occur to my mind, although I am in as good health and spirits as ever, and I am not, as you very well know, subject to vapours, nor have reason to be so in private concerns, (for, next to your great father, nobody can be happier than I am in my family,) these reflections, I say, fling such a damp and discouragement in my way, by the apparition of what may happen, that I have not the heart to look back into past transactions, and to unmask that wicked impostor Bolingbroke, whose villainous ministry and measures have been the source from whence all the difficulties, debts and distresses, that have embarrassed this nation, both in domestic and foreign concerns, ever since the peace of Utrecht, have directly flowed :

‘ Hæc fonte derivata clades

‘ In patriam populumque fluxit.’

“ However, I have at leisure hours taken the works of that charlatan into my hands; and find the notoriety of the falsehoods advanced in almost every page, makes the difficulty of an answer; for, instead of stating known propositions and facts, and making the proper inferences and true conclusions from them, his affirmations of things that never existed are strong and positive, and are incoherently scattered up and down his books, with interludes of amusing anecdotes, and embellishments nothing to the purpose, to divert the reader from farther enquiry, taking it for granted that such impudent assertions must have some foundation of truth, which makes it hard to collect them into a body, and, by taking them to pieces, afterwards to expose the variety of falsehoods, stript of artificial

artificial ornaments, in their natural and hideous deformity ; but perhaps something may be attempted. I am ever, &c."

The attention of Mr. Walpole, however, was diverted by other occupations, until Mallet gave a superb edition of all Bolingbroke's Works, in five volumes quarto. These writings, which were equally hostile to religion and government, being published on the day of Mr. Pelham's death, gave rise to a beautiful passage in Mr. Garrick's celebrated ode :

"The same sad morn to Church and State,
(So for our sins 'twas fix'd by fate,)
A double stroke was giv'n :
Black as the whirlwinds of the north,
St. John's fell genius issued forth,
And Pelham fled to heav'n *."

This publication roused the indignation of Mr. Walpole; he resumed his labours with increasing zeal and perseverance, and I shall throw together a few letters which exhibit the progress of this interesting work until it was finally completed.

Mr. Walpole to Lord Royston†.

"Wolterton, July 8th, 1754. The punctilio of having wrote last would not have prevented my keeping up an intercourse of letters with the person for whom I have so great a respect and affection, and in whose correspondence and conversation I always find the utmost satisfaction, could I have furnished out any thing that deserved giving you trouble. The variety of agreeable objects which nature, improved by some art, in this situation, affords, are entertainment to a quiet mind retired from the novelties and noise of the busy world ; but cannot be the acceptable subject of a letter to a distant friend, who enjoys them in greater perfection, no more than an account of my amusements within doors among eminent authors, or of my political speculations upon modern transactions that are past ; among which I sometimes cast an eye upon Bolingbroke's fables. I say sometimes, because the misrepresentations of facts are so gross, his reflections upon able men and honest measures are so violent and unjust, that I am not able to dwell upon them long in order to confute them, without
being

* An ode on the death of Mr. Pelham, by Mr. Garrick.—Dodsley's Collection of Poems, vol. 4, p. 198.

† Mr. Yorke had recently assumed the title of lord Royston, on the elevation of his father to the earldom of Hardwicke.

being ruffled with greater resentment and disorder than is suitable to the calm I propose to enjoy in this happy retirement, at my time of life. For, as to future events, I keep them at as great a distance as I can from my thoughts, leaving them to the lucubrations of those that are in the vigour of their age, or in stations that require their attention to the public weal; myself perfectly content with our present happy tranquillity, and praying for the duration of it.

“ But, alas ! in the midst of this delightful dream of an elysian peace, the duke of Newcastle has, in a very affectionate and confidential manner, awakened me from the pleasing indolence of a rural life, and set my political thoughts again at sea with an account of the french encroachments upon our settlements in the West Indies. The black clouds gathering there, I am afraid, are big of an unpleasant storm. I have sent his grace my notions; crude and imperfect, you will easily imagine, they must be, uninformed as I am of particulars at this distance. But the substance of some long letters, in answer to some questions I was asked, is, in short, that our colonies must not be abandoned; if they have not sufficient force of themselves, of men or money, they must be supplied from hence to withstand and repel the french unjust attempts. If this becomes a serious affair, and France has projected a scheme for destroying our trade in the East and West Indies, it will be a more effectual measure for ruining this nation than any war on the continent in Europe, or intrigues for a rebellion in favour of the pretender; it will indeed be laying the axe at the root of the tree.”

Mr. Fowle to Mr. Etough.*

“ January 31, 1754-5. Our great friend has begun the work you have so long and so often recommended to him, and has completed it from the year 1706. The manuscript has given great satisfaction to those whom he has favoured with a sight of it. He is going on with it to the year 1715. My neighbour, Sir Edward, and I, wish to have it carried on towards the year 1740. But our good and great friend says, that he has not materials for such a work, and that he can get no farther than 1714-5; so that we have no expectation of having more of the scene, wherein his
noble

* Commissioner of the Excise, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Charles Turner, by Mary, sister of Mr. Walpole.

noble relation was particularly interested, opened to us, than what may be had from general accounts of that period of time from 1715 towards 1740. What may be become of the materials collected for a particular account of this noble person, and his great transactions, I know not; I am sure he once had such by him."

Mr. Walpole to Lord Royston.

"Wolterton, July 12, 1755. I was extremely glad to hear that lord chancellor is so well; his lordship being able to throw off the air of business with the gown of the magistrate, is a happiness of temper that will contribute to preserve long such a state of health that is so necessary for the service of the public, especially at this juncture, when I imagine that his great abilities may be more wanted than ever, as it cannot be long before we must have some news of consequence from America, as well as from our own fleet. I flatter myself they will both be successful: but what may follow from that success, unless it prevents an open war, does not afford me the most agreeable reflection; for, beating or beaten, a general war, in my opinion, is the worst thing that can befall this nation, at this present time, when a debt, almost unsupportable already, is increasing under an administration that cannot be said to be perfectly settled. For my part, I am resolved to make myself as easy as I can, enjoying at present a sound mind in a sound body; and I will pray at a distance for the peace of Israel, sensible that I can be of no service in the seat of action, either with respect to foreign or domestic troubles.

"As I am now, and am resolved to continue, at leisure, and am in tolerable good spirits, I shall employ some of my time in finishing my answer to lord Bolingbroke's political misrepresentations, which I find will be no otherwise very difficult, than as it will be tedious, and in a great measure a repetition of the report from the secret committee in 1715*; an incomparable performance, which I am afraid length of time, and the intervention of other great affairs, have buried in oblivion, although we feel at this time the fatal effects of the infamous treaty of Utrecht: and therefore it may not be improper to undeceive posterity, at least, in the false notions that they may otherwise entertain of the chief actions and actors

* This able performance was written by Sir Robert Walpole. See *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, chap. 11.

actors in that wretched scene, from the wrong impressions which the bold and unjust assertions in the posthumous works of a profane and profligate author, that the saddle, as we country folks call it, may be laid upon the right horse."

Mr. Walpole finished only the first and second part of the work, which concludes with the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough in 1711; but left an incomplete sketch of the third part, which was intended to carry the refutation down to the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht. The two first parts were published in 1763, by his son, under the title of "An Answer to the latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History, by the late Lord Walpole, of Wolterton, in a Series of Letters to a Noble Lord." This answer is an excellent supplement to Mr. Poyntz's *Vindication of the Barrier Treaty**, and to Bishop Hare's Letters to a Tory Member, which relate the negotiations at the Hague and Gertruydenburg; it may be considered as a complete refutation of Bolingbroke's Letters on the History of that period, which, when stripped of the graces of style and metaphorical ornament, may be justly called, in Mr. Walpole's words, "a labyrinth of absurdity and contradictions†."

Archbishop

* The *Barrier Treaty Vindicated* is erroneously printed among the works of bishop Hare. "Hare," Mr. Walpole writes in a letter to Mr. Etough, "was not the author of the *Barrier Treaty Vindicated*; the whole performance was by Mr. Poyntz, and it is an excellent work." Cockpit, May 26, 1752.

Leland also published some judicious "Reflections on Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History, especially so far as relate to Christianity and the Holy Scriptures." The same author, in his "View of Deistical Writers," refuted his infidel writings, miscalled philosophical works. These reveries were also no less ably combated by the masterly pen of Warburton, in his "View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy."

† It is remarkable that the political visions

of Bolingbroke are held in equal estimation by the High Tories and by the most violent among the Modern Reformers.

His character is thus delineated by Smollett: "That nobleman, seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a public life, resided at Battersea, where he was visited, like a sainted shrine, by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition." Vol. 3, p. 220.

Mr. William Belsham says: "At this period lord Bolingbroke resided at the rustic mansion of Dawley in Middlesex; and was visited in this beautiful and sequestered retreat, to make use of the expression of a cotemporary historian, 'as a sainted shrine, by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition.' Matured and mellowed by experience, reflection, and age, this all-accomplished nobleman,

‘framed

*Archbishop Herring to Mr. Walpole *.*

“ Sir,

Croydon-house, Feb. 18, 1755.

“ I can't return the inclosed without accompanying them with my best thanks for the amusement and instruction I have received from it. It were impertinent in me to applaud the book ; but I hope it will see the light, that the wretched man may be detected in his politics as well as his religion, that he may not delude the world in either. With regard to the first, the papers before me must have for their motto what prince Henry says in the play to Sir John Falstaff, who had been telling lies without number, and without shame, ‘ You shall see now how a plain tale will put you down.’ ”

Lord

‘ framed in the prodigality of nature, and no less conspicuous in the lofty fancies of science than the rosy bowers of pleasure, or the gorgeous palaces of ambition, shone forth in the evening of life with a mild and subdued, but rich and resplendent lustre. And in his political writings he exhibited to an admiring world that IDEA of a PATRIOT KING which the heir of the british monarchy was supposed ambitious to form himself upon, as a complete and perfect model.”—Belsham's *Memoirs of the Kings of Great Britain, of the House of Brunswick Lunenburg*, vol. 2, p. 172.

* Thomas Herring, son of the reverend John Herring, rector of Walsoken in Norfolk, was born in 1693, and completed his education, which was commenced at Wisbech school in the isle of Ely, at Jesus College, Cambridge. He made considerable attainments in classical and ecclesiastical literature, and was remarkable for the complacency of his manners and suavity of his disposition. He was fellow and tutor of Christ's college ; entered into holy orders in 1719, and became chaplain to Fleetwood bishop of Ely, from whose patronage he obtained the livings of Retendon in Essex, and Barley in Hertfordshire. After filling the office of preacher

to the society of Lincoln's Inn, he was appointed chaplain to the king, rector of Blechingley in Surry, and dean of Rochester (1731). In 1737 he was constituted bishop of Bangor, and in 1743 archbishop of York.

During the rebellion in 1745 he exerted himself with great zeal in favour of government : having convened a public meeting in his diocese, he made a sensible and animated speech, obtained a subscription to a considerable amount, and contributed to raise and embody volunteers and other corps of troops, who performed essential services against the rebels.

These exertions drew on him the abuse of the jacobites, and occasioned a rumour that he had appeared in regimentals at the head of his clergy, and declared he was as ready to fight as to pray for the family on the throne. A caricature print was also published, in which the archbishop is represented at the head of his clergy, in a motley dress, half military and half clerical, with the inscription, “ The Church Militant.” His essential services were acknowledged by government, and, on the death of Dr. Potter in 1747, he was translated to the see of Canterbury. Coincidence of sentiment, and a strong attachment to the Whig cause, occasioned a strict intimacy between

Lord Barrington to Mr. Walpole.

“ Sir,

George-street, May 19, 1755.

“ I return your papers, accompanied with my best thanks and acknowledgements for the pleasure and instruction I have received by reading them; you have detected the fallacies and fictions of lord Bolingbroke in a manner which admits neither of doubt or reply. I am very impatient for the remaining part of the work; and I hope the publication of it, when finished, will not be delayed. The dangerous poison of lord Bolingbroke requires antidotes; the world has an immediate right to truths of such importance, and I could wish that no minister of any country (especially of this) might ever negotiate with France till he had carefully perused your account of what passed at Gertruydenberg.

“ I am, with great respect, your most, &c.

“ BARRINGTON *.”

between the archbishop and Mr. Walpole. They both died in 1757.

Notwithstanding the moral rectitude of this great prelate, and his public and private virtues, he did not escape the malignant satire of Swift. Herring having justly preached against the Beggars' Opera, as an immoral piece, which encouraged vice, by making a highway-man the hero, and dismissing him at last unpunished, he was bitterly abused by Swift as a court chaplain, and even as “ a stupid, injudicious, and prostitute divine.”—*Intelligencer*, No. 3.

* William Wildman, viscount Barrington, was son and heir of John, first viscount Barrington, of Beckett in the county of Berks, by his wife Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Daines of Bristol, and one of the representatives in parliament for that city. He was born

in 1717, and had a private education, though he manifested a decided predilection to Eton school, by sending thither two of his younger brothers, the late Hon. Daines Barrington, and the present bishop of Durham, who were destined to learned professions, a predilection fully justified by their literary attainments. In the course of his political life, he became successively a lord of the admiralty, master of the great wardrobe, secretary at war, chancellor of the exchequer, and treasurer of the navy. The distinguished parts of his public character were great official talents, high sense of honour, unimpeached and unsuspected integrity. From his political situation, he had the means to have amassed a considerable fortune; but he died without having either increased or diminished his paternal estate.

CHAPTER 40.

1755.

Ineffectual Endeavours of Mr. Walpole to reconcile the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt—State of Foreign Affairs—Alliances between England and Prussia, and the Houses of Austria and Bourbon—Contests for the Office of Secretary of State—Resignation of Sir Thomas Robinson, and Appointment of Mr. Fox—Dismission of Mr. Pitt and his Party—Changes in the Administration—Letters of Mr. Walpole to the Lord Chancellor—His Services in Support of Government.

THE king had scarcely departed for Hanover, before the cabals for the seals were renewed with increasing activity. “The duke of Newcastle, as the princess of Wales justly observed, “instead of consulting what was to be done, was struggling who should do it*.” He made various attempts to negotiate with the opposite parties, and followed the example of his brother, Mr. Pelham, though without his address, in amusing Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. At one period the two rival orators seem to have arranged their respective pretensions; Mr Fox was to be placed at the head of the treasury, and Mr. Pitt to have the seals of secretary of state. But this agreement was of short duration: Mr. Pitt was incensed, because his rival was admitted into the cabinet, and appointed one of the lords of the regency, and in May declared that to accept the seals from Mr. Fox would be owning his superiority, and that their connection was at an end.

Mr. Walpole was deeply concerned at this fatal struggle between two persons with whom he was equally connected. He had long acted with Mr. Fox in the support of government; he knew his capacity for business, and accommodating temper. In regard to Mr. Pitt, the antipathy arising from his former opposition to the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, had wholly subsided; Mr. Walpole appreciated his talents, admired his eloquence, and had strongly enforced, in the closet, the propriety of appointing

* Melcombe's Diary.

pointing him to the office of secretary at war. A coincidence of opinion concerning the german subsidies, and the conduct of foreign affairs, had still further cemented their intimacy: he speaks of the great orator, in several of his letters, in high terms of regard and esteem; he submitted to his inspection several memorials and papers, and the answers of Mr. Pitt testify the high opinion which he entertained of Mr. Walpole. Though Mr. Walpole disapproved the virulence of his opposition, yet he considered him as the only person who, from his independent spirit and energy of character, was capable of over-ruling the wavering counsels of a divided cabinet, and directing the efforts of the nation with vigour and effect in the approaching war with France.

With this prepossession, Mr. Walpole eagerly accepted a commission from the duke of Newcastle, to effect an accommodation with Mr. Pitt: and endeavoured to sooth his inflexible spirit, by apologising for the duke's conduct, and declaring, in his name, that the utmost endeavours had been used to gratify his wishes. Mr. Pitt received the overtures with complacency; but demanded, as a proof of the duke's sincerity, that the proscription which excluded him from the cabinet should be removed, and a promise obtained from the king, of the seals in case of a vacancy. Mr. Walpole approved these proposals; but the duke of Newcastle, with his usual versatility, expressed his resentment against Mr. Walpole for exceeding his commission, and agreeing to terms which he was neither willing nor able to grant*.

Mr. Pitt, justly incensed, treated all further overtures with contempt, refused to give his opinion on subjects out of his department, and replied to the duke of Newcastle, who consulted him on the means of driving the French from the Ohio; "Your grace knows I have no capacity for these things, and therefore do not desire to be informed of them." He then sounded the partisans of Leicester-house and the Tories; united with Mr Legge, who was equally offended; and, before the meeting of parliament, had formed a strong opposition to the measures of government.

Unfortunately the inefficient measures of the cabinet, the disastrous events of the war in America, and the conduct of foreign affairs, furnished sufficient matter for complaint and invective. Foreseeing an inevitable
rupture

* Melcombe's Diary, p. 238-9.

rupture with France, and the approach of a continental war, the great object of the cabinet, before the king's departure for Hanover, was to renew the alliance with Austria, Prussia, and the States, to subsidise Russia and the german princes, and to take hanoverian and hessian troops into pay. Conceiving themselves secure of Austria and the States, the ministers turned their principal attention to obtain the accession of Russia, which was speedily effected by the address and activity of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, ambassador at the court of-Petersburgh. They at the same time concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and succeeded, in spite of the french intrigues, in securing the neutrality of Spain. France, on her side, was not inactive; she gained the elector of Cologne, which opened a passage for her troops into the heart of Germany, and prepared to invade the Low Countries, and the electorate of Hanover, with the hopes of obtaining the co-operation of Prussia.

In this situation of affairs, a sudden revolution took place in the system of european politics. Maria Theresa, retaining her resentment against England for signing the preliminaries of Aix-la-chapelle without her approbation, and suspicious of the hostile intentions of Prussia, refused to furnish sufficient troops for the defence of the Low Countries, or to co-operate in protecting the electorate of Hanover, under the pretence of reserving her forces for the security of her own dominions. She also opened a private negotiation with the court of Versailles, which terminated in the union between the houses of Bourbon and Austria.

The defection of Maria Theresa broke the spell which had so long united England to the house of Austria, and removed, in an instant, the antipathy between George the Second and the king of Prussia. Frederic himself made overtures, through the duke of Brunswick; and a negotiation, commenced during the king's continuance at Hanover, terminated in a defensive alliance, by which Frederic agreed to prevent the entrance of foreign troops into Germany*.

In consequence of this change of system, the predictions of Mr. Walpole were verified: England was deserted by the electors of Bavaria and Palatine,

* Dispatches of the earl of Holderness, in Sir Benjamin Keene's Papers.

Palatine, on whom she had lavished her treasures in time of peace; and Russia refused to abide by the terms of her agreement, under the pretext that she considered herself as bound to support the house of Austria, and not the king of Prussia.

Mr. Walpole, after his ineffectual attempts to reconcile the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, returned to Wolterton, and resumed his literary occupations, particularly his reply to lord Bolingbroke, with a resolution to interfere no more in public affairs. In a letter to lord Royston he observes, "The love of your country, and your great stake, must have since employed your attention to public affairs, in a situation that seems to me extremely delicate, both at home and abroad. Although I know little more than what I see in the public papers, of ministerial motions and intrigue, and of foreign measures; as an Englishman, I cannot be indifferent to matters of so much consequence to the nation; but, as old Horace Walpole, I am so ignorant and useless, that I have no curiosity to be inquisitive about them, which made me once resolve to keep at as great a distance as I could from the stormy weather; but some considerations have, I protest I cannot tell why, determined me at last to be in town about five or ten days before the parliament meets*."

He was induced to take this journey, no less from domestic concerns, than from the entreaties of the chancellor, for whom he entertained the highest esteem and veneration, as well from a conviction of his prudence and abilities, as from gratitude for favours recently conferred†. He had,
in

* Wolterton, Oct. 13, 1755. Hardwicke Papers.

† The chancellor gave a prebend of Bristol to his nephew, Dr. Hammond. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the great services of his brother, his own uniform support of government, and his numerous friends of the highest weight and consequence, Mr. Walpole could not procure from the crown a prebend for his nephew, but owed his preferment solely to the private friendship of lord

Hardwicke. After making this request to the lord chancellor, he adds: "I should not have given your lordship this trouble, but that I am persuaded, although I have lived for many years in a certain intimacy with some of the ministers, never given offence to any of them, nor opposition to their measures, but in speaking my thoughts to some of them in private on certain occasions, purely with a view for his majesty's and their service, I am considered as a person of so little consequence,
and

in the preceding summer, conveyed to the chancellor, assurances from the duke of Devonshire, that he would transfer to his lordship the confidence which he had reposed in Mr. Pelham, and would, on all occasions, support the measures which he recommended.

The dread of an approaching opposition, from the union of Mr. Pitt, the Grenvilles, and Mr. Legge, with the Tories and Leicester-house party, rendered Mr. Walpole's presence necessary, as well for his support in parliament, as for his interposition to conciliate the duke of Devonshire, who was highly dissatisfied with the subsidiary treaties of Russia and Hesse Cassel. But it required all the influence of the chancellor to overcome the repugnance of Mr. Walpole, who no less disapproved the treaty with Russia, and expressed his disapprobation in a strong remonstrance.

Mr. Walpole to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.*

" My Lord,

Wolterton, Sept. 22, 1755.

" The popularity, ease, and service of the king, the interest of this country, your own honour and credit as a principal minister of state, my particular attachment to your lordship in that quality, as well as my great obligations to your friendship, all these considerations force me to break the resolution I had once taken, never more to concern myself directly or indirectly in public affairs, and to recommend most earnestly to your lordship, if it is not too late, to oppose the conclusion of a subsidiary treaty for troops with the court of Russia. Such a measure, I am terribly afraid, notwithstanding the present affection which his majesty so deservedly and universally enjoys among his people, will be entertained with the utmost dislike by the well-affected as well as the *frondeurs* and the disaffected, as what will be vastly expensive, and cannot, in any sense, be of service or security to Great Britain. I hope I may depend upon your lordship's honour not to communicate this liberty, as coming from me, to any soul living, and that your usual indulgence will pardon this well-meant,

and so very unfashionable at court, that I cannot flatter myself with the hopes of being able to serve any friend or relation, (although, perhaps, the world does not think so,) by an application for any thing directly in the name of the crown; and therefore, my lord, you will

pardon the liberty taken by him who has ever been, and ever shall be, with the greatest attachment and respect, &c."—Cockpit, July 26, 1753. Hardwicke Papers.

* Hardwicke Papers.

meant, though perhaps mistaken presumption, of him who is, with the most inviolable attachment, and affectionate respect, my lord, &c."

To this letter the lord chancellor wrote a confidential answer, in which he laid open the state of affairs, explained the cabals for the seals, earnestly desired Mr. Walpole's attendance in parliament, and solicited his interposition to remove the dissatisfaction of the duke of Devonshire. He also delivered a kind message from the king. This interesting letter is lost ; but Mr. Walpole's answer is fortunately preserved :

" My Lord,

Norwich, Sept. 29, 1755*.

" I am honoured with your lordship's letter of the 25th instant. I am sure I shall not abuse your confidence in me, by communicating to any person living what has passed between us. I heartily wish that the difficulties which have obstructed the conclusion of the russian treaty, may entirely defeat that measure, for the reasons in my former letter. I had, when my friend Mr. Hanbury was last in England, some discourse with him upon foreign affairs ; his lively imagination was supported with such a flow of eloquence, and his conclusions were so quick, decisive and infallible, that my little common sense could not keep pace with so great a genius. One would have thought, by his ideas, that this country is one continued mine of gold, to be come at with ease, and, with a trifle of subsidies, 40 or 50,000 Russians, by his magic pen, might in an instant be wafted to any part of Europe for his majesty's service, either as king or elector. I gave him to understand that his political system moved in a sphere out of the reach of my comprehension.

" In short, my lord, if that extravagantly expensive (as the papers represent it) treaty was but out of the way, I should hope that things would be made much more easy in parliament ; for I think it was a right measure to engage the Hessians in our service, to supply, as our standing forces are not sufficient, if necessary, (upon any design from France to make a descent in this island,) the number of troops which the States by treaty are obliged, but dare not, were they willing, to send to our assistance. But as to the Russians, the excessive price we paid for 16,000 in 1747, who marched no farther than to Livonia, and again for 30,000 in 1748, for the service of the common cause, who could not have got into Flanders

by

* Hardwicke Papers.

by most diligent marches, before France (if she had not unexpectedly given us a peace,) would have been mistress of the continent, was a measure extremely unpopular, and, if I remember right, made Mr. Pelham's heart ache. If afterwards he came into this measure, I was (before your lordship told it me) an entire stranger to it ; it seems not agreeable to his notions, who was an enemy, although by degrees he complied, to the useless subsidiary treaties made for the choice of a king of the Romans, which I am afraid will be remembered, although not by me, in a disagreeable manner, the approaching sessions.

“ Some orators will be for or against the Russians, if we must have them, as they shall be satisfied or dissatisfied in their aspiring views : one* will oppose, as thinking the unpopularity of continental measures will add great weight to his superior eloquence, although otherwise he has not that influence among the Whigs that he vainly imagines. Another †, if cordially discontented, will, perhaps, be publicly silent, as not being in a condition to hazard the losing the place he at present enjoys, but he will be privately busy. A third ‡, who is now in great circumstances, and has credit among the *old corps* in parliament, seems, by having refused to sign the warrant for the Hessians, to have taken his plea to be against all foreign subsidies. I could have wished he had been better managed in his station, which he has shewn in the house he is capable of discharging in a masterly way.

“ I look upon these three as a triumvirate that are determined enemies to the duke of Newcastle, and although not altogether in a concert, will meditate a personal attack against his grace in some shape or other ; and it is upon this plan that I imagine Mr. Pitt is become, which I am sorry for, so untractable. But if one of these, whose unmeasurable ambition is the only measure of his principles and actions, can be satisfied, the others, as your lordship has observed, will certainly be the dupe.

“ I am afraid your intelligence of the duke of Devonshire being in his opinion strongly against the Russians is but too true ; for he has long since (considering the miserable and defenceless condition of the States, and the selfish

* Mr. Pitt.

† Mr. Fox.

‡ Mr. Legge, by his marriage in 1750, with Mary, daughter and heiress of Edward, fourth lord Stawel.

selfish and impracticable behaviour of the court of Vienna,) looked upon continental schemes, as what would answer no end, but to increase our immense debt, by degrees render his majesty and his family unpopular; but that his grace has spoken with great strength against the Russians, knowing his caution and reservedness, I can scarce believe. I think it by no means proper for me to write to his grace upon that subject. I believe, by a letter I received from him some time since, that he intends to be in town against the meeting of the parliament.

“I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my sense of his majesty’s goodness, in thinking me at all worthy of his notice. I had been under his displeasure; I can’t tell for what reason, nor by what means, being conscious that I never said any thing, either privately or publicly, that was not meant for his service, without any selfish view, and, I believe, would have proved so, had my notions been regarded.

“I shall trouble your lordship with nothing more, hoping you will excuse this, besides letting you know, as you seemed to desire it, that I propose to be in town on Friday the 7th of November, ready, in the mean time, to receive your farther commands, being, with the most unalterable attachment and respect, my lord, &c.”

“P. S. Since writing what goes before, I have received from Mr. Fox an account that he is to be appointed secretary of state. I must own I could not read the letter without smiling; the consequence of the rupture of a triumvirate among the Romans usually ended in a civil war between the contending parties for power.”

On his arrival in town, Mr. Walpole was beset by the ministers: the same evening he had a long and confidential interview with the chancellor, who gave him a full, clear, and explicit detail of the state of foreign and domestic affairs since the king’s departure for Hanover. He explained the situation of parties in the house of commons, and the causes of the new arrangements; and prevailed on him to give his support to government in this important crisis, and to use his interposition with the duke of Devonshire.

On the ensuing day the duke of Newcastle himself waited on Mr. Walpole; but not finding him at home, appointed a meeting in the afternoon,
at

at the house of lord Holderness. “I found him,” writes Mr. Walpole to the chancellor*, “as he always is, in a great hurry; but to supply the want of time for a long conference, he put into my hands a large provision of confidential papers, for my perusal at home, which I began to read last night, and I hope to go through this morning, although I find them in a great manner unnecessary, after the clear, full, and explicit detail your lordship has been pleased to give me before, relating to persons and things, from the time that his majesty went abroad to the present great critical situation. However, I had with his grace an irregular and scattered medley of discourse, that touched upon the most essential points.

“But what I was most earnest upon, being what I have most at heart, as of the greatest moment of all, was of the intended conduct of Sir G. L—† in parliament, the foundation of which is of such a nature, and the sore is so deep and dangerous, that I apprehend it will be attended with consequences fatal to the king’s affairs, to his own ease and health, and indeed to us all, if some remedy be not found to obviate and prevent it. It has, I can assure your lordship, kept my mind in great agitation, and even in torture, ever since I saw you, though, thank God! my health is good, and my spirits, though ruffled, not dismayed.”

It appears, that a disgust at the violence of opposition, in so dangerous a juncture as the unfortunate commencement of the war with France, principally induced Mr. Walpole to support the subsidiary treaty with Russia, and to use his influence with the duke of Devonshire to concur in the same object. He accordingly prepared his grace for a conference with the lord chancellor, in whom alone, among the ministry, the duke reposed implicit confidence. In consequence of his interposition, and the arguments of the chancellor, the prepossessions of the duke were removed, and he agreed to give his support to government.

On the 13th of November the session was opened, and the opposition to the address, as well as to the treaties, in subsequent debates, was extremely vigorous and well supported. On the side of the minority Mr. Pitt

* Cockpit, Nov. 6, 1755. Hardwicke Papers.

† Dr. now Sir George Lee, the chief of the

Leicester-house party, who at this time threatened a violent opposition in parliament.

Pitt and Mr. Legge particularly distinguished themselves; but the numbers in their favour were not so great as was expected *.

The new arrangements were soon declared. Mr. Fox at length gained his favourite object; he became secretary of state, and Mr. Pitt, who refused to act a subordinate part, and entered into opposition, was dismissed; the seals of chancellor of the exchequer were taken from Mr. Legge; the Grenvilles were removed, and the whole family phalanx united with the Tories and the partisans of Leicester-house. Sir George Lyttleton was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, lord Barrington secretary at war, Mr. Doddington treasurer of the navy, and Mr. Furnes, another of the late prince's adherents, was made a lord of the treasury; the duke of Newcastle continued at the head of administration, and the same inefficient measures were still pursued with the same ill success.

The russian treaty, which had occasioned so much ill-will, was rendered null by the alliance with Prussia; and the empress, alienated by the impolitic † conduct of the british ministry, and her personal dislike to Frederic, was induced to join France and Austria against Prussia, our only powerful ally on the continent. The unpopularity of the new administration was increased by the loss of Minorca; but the public clamours were diverted

* For referring the treaties to a committee, 126 noes against 318 ayes; when the report of the committee was presented, 69 against 263. Speaking of this debate and division, which took place on the 15th, Mr. Digby, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, observes: "There was little new in this debate; but Mr. Murray made an extreme fine speech, with a great deal of argument, which Mr. Pitt answered with a great deal of wit. When we came to divide, the noes went forth; but Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and Mr. Townshend staid talking till the door was shut; so, after some dispute with the speaker, they were obliged to stay and be told with us, which occasioned a second division upon the hessian treaty. The numbers in the first division were 263 to 69;

in the second we were 259 to 72; so you see your treaties are approved by a very large majority, notwithstanding they were so much abused without doors. We have had nothing in parliament since worth speaking of; and now we hear of nothing but the disposal of places." Whitehall, Dec. 23, 1755.

† "Whilst the court of Vienna," writes Sir Joshua Vaneck to lord Walpole, "was in a treaty with France, they had the good policy, I mean the queen of Hungary, to communicate the progress to the empress of Russia; and our policy was to conceal that with Prussia to the very last, which, no doubt, is the cause of this misunderstanding, on the consequence of which the solidity of our new alliance with Prussia will entirely depend." July 20, 1756.

diverted by the trial and execution of admiral Byng, and the zeal of the nation roused by the dread of a french invasion. The most liberal supplies of men and money were granted for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the hessian and hanoverian troops, in default of the forces refused by the states, were called in to defend the country; a measure which, though dictated by necessity, became a new source of obloquy.

CHAPTER 41.

1755—1756.

Mr. Walpole strenuously supports the Militia Bill—Created a Peer—Congratulatory Letter from Archbishop Herring, and his Reply—Prevents the Corporation of Norwich from joining in the Addresses to the King on the Loss of Minorca.

IN this session Mr. Walpole warmly promoted an object of great national importance, the establishment of a permanent military force for the internal defence of the country; although it was introduced by the great leader of opposition, and counteracted by government.

Since the accession of the house of Brunswick, the defence of the kingdom, in time of peace, had been intrusted to the standing army; and in cases of emergency, when the regular force was insufficient, dutch troops had been introduced: all attempts to re-establish a national militia, on the same tenure as it existed during the reign of Charles the Second, had been frustrated by the repugnance of the court. A militia bill had been occasionally brought into parliament, and though usually suffered to pass, secretly defeated, under various pretences, and never carried into execution. During the rebellion of 1745, however, a partial muster took place in the maritime counties, and was found so serviceable, that a general muster was proposed, as a measure calculated to obviate the necessity of calling in the assistance of the hanoverian and hessian troops, in consequence of the refusal of the Dutch to supply their stipulated contingent.

With this view Mr. Pitt, on Dec. 8, 1755, moved for the establishment of a committee to consider the state of the militia laws. Although this motion passed unanimously, yet the "Act for the better Ordering of the Militia Forces," was not introduced till March 12, and not finally sent up to the house of lords until the 10th of May. In this interval the king informed the house, that, in consequence of the danger of an im-
pending

pending invasion, he had made a requisition for a body of hessian troops to be transported into England in pursuance of the late treaty. This message was not only answered by warm and affectionate addresses from both houses; but, in consequence of a motion by Mr. Fox, his majesty was also requested to order an immediate embarkation of twelve battalions of electoral troops.

Notwithstanding this resolution, which evinced the intention of the court to defeat the militia bill, Mr. Walpole continued his support, and wrote two sensible letters to lord Hardwicke*, to deprecate its rejection in the house of lords.

“ My Lord,

Cockpit, April 4, 1756.

“ Your lordship, having been pleased to allow me the liberty to trouble you with my notions on some occasions, will, I hope, excuse my doing it in a matter of importance, which is now depending in the house of commons; I mean the Militia Bill. Whether it is formed upon the most perfect plan, or is very correctly drawn, I do not pretend to judge; yet, sure I am, it is become a very popular and plausible object, among those who are best affected to this government. I think the Tories in general, although some few are engaged in the conduct of it, do not approve it extremely; but the considerable persons who moved and earnestly supported the questions for bringing over the Hessians and Hanoverians, expressed themselves as looking upon our calling in foreign strength to be indeed a necessary but a temporary support only, in this perilous situation, until a more natural and national defence, against all dangerous emergencies to the public, could be formed and made serviceable; and they particularly mentioned the militia, as what might be useful at this present juncture, as well as in all future troublesome times, by acting under proper directions in concert with the standing regular forces. And all those in our house who are firmly attached to the present measures, have testified their desire of having a militia established upon some plan like that of the present bill; and the ministers then declared their sentiments very prudently in favour of it, or otherwise I believe they would have met with more difficulty in carrying the questions for a foreign assistance.

“ But

* Hardwicke Papers.

“ But it is reported, my lord, that this bill, when passed in our own house, is to be dropt in your lordship’s : I heartily wish that, before such a resolution is taken among those who have the confidence and conduct of affairs, the consequences of it may be seriously weighed ; for I apprehend it may occasion a great deal of ill humour and clamour, industriously fomented and propagated, not only by the pretended Patriots in opposition, but even by the Tories, who do not approve the present plan, as if there was a design to keep the foreign troops here longer than the defence of their country may require it ; and such disagreeable surmises of ill purposes intended, may be scattered among the people, against the administration, as may make a bad impression upon their minds. * * * * *

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“ My Lord,

Cockpit, April 26, 1756.

“ I suppose your lordship, during your recess, may have fully considered the Militia Bill, and very likely have found many imperfections in it, that may render the execution of it difficult should it pass into a law.

“ The power given to three or more commissaries of the land-tax, without a suitable qualification, to act jointly with two deputy lieutenants, who are to have 600*l.* per annum, in all meetings after the second general meeting relating to the fitness of persons to serve from time to time in the militia, will, I apprehend, so disgust the deputy lieutenants, as they may be constantly over-ruled by a majority of persons of mean rank and fortune, that they will refuse to meet and act with them.

“ But let that or other material objections be ever so weighty, I am still of opinion, having talked with several persons of high and low degree, from different quarters, all well affected to the administration, that if this bill, after it has passed, as I believe it will, without opposition in our house, be flung out of your lordship’s, it will have very disagreeable effects, to the prejudice of the ministry ; for, in that case, however disliked it may be at present by many of different principles, it will be sounded as a most popular and desirable scheme in all places. In our circumstances and situation, some such thing is absolutely necessary and wanted, will be the cry, not only of all those that are ill, but of many, very many who are well disposed : it may not be perfect, but it may be
mended

mended hereafter; there can be no harm in making a trial; and the supposed motives for not making the trial will be represented in the most odious colours against those that are thought to have the chief conduct of affairs, as having in view other means, not at all constitutional, for the defence of this country in great exigencies.

“It has got abroad, that lord Chesterfield’s opinion against the bill has much prevailed in a certain place: I have a great respect for the sentiments of that ingenious nobleman; but, if I am rightly informed of his objections, there seems not to be the least foundation in it for the dangerous consequences he apprehends. ’Tis said too, that the lord president* will oppose warmly the passing it: It does not become me to surmise what that lord’s reasons may be, having not talked with him on that subject; but the peers, who are to have the chief hand in flinging it out, as it is reported, are lord Ray——d and Mar——t. It will hardly be believed, my lord, that the first does not act by the influence of the court; and whether the last does or not, I will not presume to guess; but his chief reason, as I am told, for its not passing now is, that it may be necessary to see first whether a militia bill of the same nature may not be extended to Scotland, to make the defence of the whole kingdom at once uniform; but I have learnt from other great and sensible noblemen of North Britain, that, according to their constitution, it is an absurd and impracticable idea.

“In short, my lord, if the strength against the bill is suffered to prevail in your house, let it come from what quarter it will, those that have the management of affairs, whether right or wrong, will, I am afraid, incur a censure not easy to remove. The clamour will indeed be great, and this is not a time to give an occasion for clamour, if, as I apprehend, we shall hear but too soon of the taking of Minorca by the French; the loss of that island will be attended with consequences that will affect this nation in the most sensible part. * * * * *

Notwithstanding these sensible remonstrances, the chancellor himself spoke against the bill in the house of lords; and it was rejected by a majority of 59 to 23.

The conduct of Mr. Walpole reflects high honour on his integrity; as

* Earl Granville.

he at this time solicited a peerage, and was aware that his opinion militated against the sentiments of the court. During the administration of his brother, Mr. Walpole had repeatedly declined a peerage, and never entertained any desire of acquiring that distinction until the marriage of his son with the daughter of the duke of Devonshire. The recollection of his brother's services, his own merit and uniform support of government, and his connection with the house of Cavendish, fully intitled him to that distinction ; but the manly freedom with which he combated the continental politics was sufficient to provoke a temper less irritable than that of the king ; and his bitter censure of the measures pursued by administration, excited the resentment of the duke of Newcastle. The important services, however, which he rendered, in giving his support to government during the last session of parliament, the zeal of his friend lord Hardwicke, and the influence of the Cavendish party, finally overcame the repugnance of the king ; and he was elevated to the peerage, by the title of baron Walpole of Wolterton, on the 1st of June 1756.

His new dignity did not influence his judgment, or restrain his frankness ; for, in a letter to lord Hardwicke, the day before his departure for Wolterton, he expatiated on the state of the kingdom with the same manly freedom as before.

“ My Lord,

Cockpit, June 20, 1756.

“ As I propose to set out early to-morrow morning with my family, for a long retirement into the country, from the active scene of business in town, where I am sensible I can be of no service ; if no opportunity can offer after this day to take my leave of your lordship in person, I hope you will accept, in this manner, of my sincere acknowledgements for the many favours you have from time to time conferred upon me, with my most ardent prayers for your health and prosperity in the long enjoyment of your high station. It is absolutely necessary for the publick weal, in these doubtful and perilous times, such as I never before remember to have happened to this exhausted, divided, and distracted nation. I beg leave to add, that wherever I shall be, until I cease to be, I shall retain a remembrance of your lordship's goodness to me ; and remain, with the most affectionate regard,” &c.

Lord Walpole received, from different quarters, many letters of congratulation

tulation on his new dignity; but none, perhaps, impressed him with greater satisfaction than those from lord chancellor Hardwicke, and his venerable friend archbishop Herring.

The Earl of Hardwicke to Lord Walpole.

“ My Dear Lord,

Powis House, June 20, 1756.

“ I return your lordship a thousand thanks for your very kind letter, and am very sorry that my being detained in the chair of the British Museum, till past twelve o'clock last night, hindered my waiting upon you, as I hoped to have done. I am particularly engaged this morning; and on Sunday evenings am expected to be found at home: so that I fear I shall scarce be able to have that honour before you go out of town.

“ Permit me, therefore, to take this way of repeating my most cordial congratulations on your promotion to the peerage, from which I do most heartily wish and augur every thing prosperous to your lordship and your family. I am infinitely obliged to you for your kind wishes. I lament the situation of the public as much as any person in the world; and lament also how little use I can be of to it. One thing we may all do some good by, I mean by endeavouring to correct the madness of the people for war, and instilling gradually a disposition for peace.

“ Your lordship talks of a long retirement, and I sincerely wish you all possible health and enjoyment in it; but, notwithstanding that, I hope you intend to favour us with your good company next winter; and flatter myself that, upon reflection, you will think it right to do so.

“ Once more let me wish your lordship all happiness, and a very good journey; and assure you that you do not leave behind you any one who is with greater truth and affection, my dear lord,” &c.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Walpole.

“ My Lord,

Croydon House, June 14, 1756.

“ It is high time for me, from reasons of common civility, give me leave to say, *à fortiori* from those of friendship, to give your lordship joy of the king's favour to you, which I do with the heart of a friend. On that account I shall study no elaborate compliments. You are a servant of the public, I had like to have said an old one; and honour naturally attends upon public virtues. I would have waited upon your lordship long before now, but my bad health confines me at home, where

I am

I am only fit for a little domestic conversation, and hardly, not always, fit for that.

“ If I had been able to have waited upon your lordship, it would have been a visit of condolence only ; we should naturally have run into a picture of our sad circumstances. For while an Englishman has any heart left in him, it must go to the quick to see the activity and success of our inveterate enemies, and the prospect all at once of an invasion at home, or the ruinous and expensive fear of it ; our best forts taken, and the guardians made prisoners of war ; our fleets slow, and, when they come at the point of defence, inactive, through a dastardly timidity ; the continent of North America in imminent danger ; and the Leeward Islands, a great resource of our wealth, in a manner undefended, at least so represented by the merchants.

“ I wish to God these reflections were only *ægri somnia* : but I doubt they are too well founded ; and this summer bears the face of gloom and darkness in the natural as well as political world. The distress is apparently so great, that we cannot avoid putting a solemn question in very solemn words : Who is sufficient for these things ? All the heads, and all the best hearts in the nation, are little enough to steer the vessel in such agitated seas as these are. But my pen grows impertinent ; I shall detain you no longer than to assure you, that I am, with perfect esteem and truth,” &c.

These remarks were in unison with the feelings of Lord Walpole, and drew from him some observations on public affairs, equally desponding.

“ My Dear Lord,

Cockpit, June 19, 1756.

“ The motives of friendship, of which I have often had great proofs from your grace, and concern for the public, which you have served with so much credit and veneration in your high station, have made me long solicitous about your grace’s health. I have often enquired after it of those whose more immediate connection and acquaintance with you gave them opportunities of being best informed ; I proposed to have waited upon your grace in person this week, before I should retire into the country, which will be the beginning of the next ; but I learnt that a visit, in your situation, could not have been very comfortable to one who has always had such an unvariable and affectionate attachment to your
grace ;

grace ; but, if we were both in perfect health, the aspect of public affairs, both at home and abroad, is so dismal, that the meeting of two Englishmen that have their king, their country, and the protestant religion and liberty at heart, would be rather a scene of lamentation than joy.

“The royal family, whose union, for their own, as well as the preservation of the subjects, is so necessary, especially at this critical juncture, is unhappily divided ; and I am afraid the cordiality of our counsellors at the helm is not the most sincere towards one another : Sedition, from unfortunate events, raises her snaky crest, and ambitious Opposition will soon march in triumph. The prospect of getting out of this terrible state is far, very far, out of sight ; we cannot be long in a condition, standing entirely alone, to measure our weapons with the most formidable power in Europe, who is a match for all the other potentates together. We are not able to carry on the war, nor can we tell how to make peace. If we should now attempt the latter, it must be a bad one, and I am afraid two years hence it will be worse. In short, my lord, we are embarked in a noble vessel, once the envy of all Europe, but now without ballast or steerage ; the sails and rigging are so worn out and shattered as to be of no service, and I can’t see how it can possibly weather the contrary winds and tempests that threaten it.

“But, sunk in the depth of melancholy reflections, I forget to return your grace thanks for your kind congratulations upon the honour which his majesty has been pleased to confer on me and my family, an honour flowing entirely from his own good will ; I pretend to claim no other merit from my endeavours to discharge my duty with zeal and fidelity in various stations, but what my partial friends are disposed to infer from such a distinguishing mark of royal favour to my advantage.

“I have, indeed, been an old servant to the crown ; it is now fifty years since I was, at Gibraltar, a witness to the incredible alacrity and expedition of that great man, lord Torrington, (then Sir G. Byng,) to sail for the relief of Barcelona. Would to God the son had followed the father’s example with regard to Port Mahon ! The consequences of that place falling into the hands of France are so many, and so bad, that I cannot bear to torment your grace, very unpleasantly, too long ; but you will pardon him who, with the sincerest prayers for your recovery of a

better state of health, and the preservation of so valuable a life, is, with most affectionate respect, &c.”

During his retirement in Norfolk, lord Walpole was actively employed in supporting the principle of the Militia Bill, and combating the opinions of those gentlemen in the county by whom it was opposed. His correspondence on this subject, which is still preserved, is equally distinguished by candour and zeal, and proves that his judgment was not impaired by the infirmities of age.

Although he thus firmly supported a great national object, however inimical to the views of the court, and did not intermit, in his private correspondence with lord Hardwicke, his censures on the inefficient measures of administration; yet he was invariably an enemy to petulant opposition. He highly disapproved the addresses to the king, which, during the ferment on the loss of Minorca, poured in from all quarters. He also prevented the corporation of Norwich from following the example, by a strong memorial, representing the indecency of such a proceeding, and the injustice of clamouring against administration, before an impartial inquiry should take place. This memorial was communicated by the mayor to the corporation, though not in lord Walpole's name, and had the desired effect. It made also a deep impression on the chancellor, who requested him to print it, which lord Walpole declined, on account of the disadvantage it might occasion to his interests at Norwich, for the representation of which city his son, Mr. Thomas Walpole, was at this time a candidate*.

The sensible and manly letter of lord Walpole to the mayor of Norwich is too long to be inserted in this work; but I cannot withhold the conclusion, which contains many just arguments against giving instructions to parliamentary representatives.

“As to instructions from constituents to their representatives in parliament with respect to matters of state, the house of commons is certainly the great inquest of the nation in one whole body; and when any member is chosen for a county or borough, he is a representative concerned for
the

* Mr. Walpole's letters to lord Royston, Sept. 10, and to lord Hardwicke, October 2, 1756.—Hardwicke Papers.

the whole nation, and not only for the county or borough for which he is chosen ; and all enquiries into grievances must be made upon that general foot, without any regard to particular instructions from any one place. When he is elected by his constituents, they, by that election, repose an entire confidence in him to act according to his own judgment or discretion, for the good of the whole, as long as he is a member ; but the opinion of his behaviour will determine them to choose him or not at a new election. The constituents may indeed desire their respective members to prefer a petition to the house, or to promote or oppose an affair depending in parliament, as what may be for or against the interest of the county or borough they represent ; and it will and ought to have its due weight : but this, surely, has nothing to do with matters of state, which must take their rise from the king and his council, upon motives that cannot possibly be within the cognizance of the nation in general, and therefore cannot properly fall under the consideration of the economical parts of government. When, in the administration of public affairs, events happen of dangerous consequence to the nation, the representative body of the people ought to make an inquiry into them, in order to have the misfortunes redressed, and the criminal authors of them punished ; but warm instructions from constituents to their representatives, without any light into the true causes of things, which they cannot possibly have from public rumour or clamour, are improper, because they may be founded in ignorance or in ill designs.

“ These are my notions relating to the proceedings in some bodies, on account of the present unfortunate state of affairs, which, if you think it worth while, you may communicate, in confidence, to my friend the mayor, and some other particular friends, as the sentiments of their late old and faithful servant, who, upon known and steady principles, has ever acted one uniform part, in support of our present happy establishment, without the least deviation through peevishness and disappointed views.”

CHAPTER 42.

1756—1757.

Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox—Arrangement of the New Administration—Mr. Pitt Secretary of State—Lord Walpole's Letter to Lord Hardwicke on his Resignation—Illness, Death and Character of Lord Walpole—Marriage, Family, and Genealogical Table of his Descendants.

NOTWITHSTANDING the aversion of lord Walpole to remove from Wolterton, and his increasing infirmities, he deemed his attendance in parliament an essential duty. Soon after his arrival in London, he was a witness to the change of administration, which was arranged before the meeting of parliament. The duke of Newcastle, who had so long directed the helm of government, was compelled to retire, and his place filled by William, fourth duke of Devonshire*, who inherited the sound sense and integrity as well as the honours of his father. Notwithstanding the repugnance of George the Second, Mr. Pitt received the seals of secretary of state, on the resignation of Mr. Fox; and his relations, the Grenvilles, were again placed in administration.

This sudden change was occasioned by a disagreement in the ministry, principally arising from the official jealousy of the duke of Newcastle, and hastened by the clamours of the nation for the ill success of the war.

Lord Walpole was, at this period, too infirm and retired to take any part in these contests; but, if we recollect his high opinion of Mr. Pitt, and consider that the administration had been arranged under the auspices of his noble friend the duke of Devonshire, we have no reason to conclude that he deprecated the change. If he felt any concern, it was for the resignation of his friend lord Hardwicke, to whom he sent a manly letter of condolence, which displays his esteem and gratitude:

“ My

* William, the third duke of Devonshire, died in December 1755.

“ My Lord,

Cockpit, Nov. 20, 1756.

“ Although I desired this morning my friend, Mr. John Yorke, to make your lordship my compliments, perhaps I might say of joy, with respect to your lordship’s own ease ; but the greatest concern in a national view, on your retirement from all business ; yet, to avoid the least imputation of ingratitude, from private as well as public considerations, I take the liberty to address myself directly to your lordship, and to join in the general lamentations of persons of every rank, party and distinction whatsoever, at the irreparable loss which our king and country must suffer by your lordship’s resignation of your great offices, and shall endeavour very soon to wait upon your lordship, with my personal assurances of being, what I have been for so many years, and what I shall ever be, with the greatest attachment and regard, &c.”

The new administration, from which the duke of Newcastle was excluded, was of temporary duration ; the king’s antipathy to Mr. Pitt was increased by his opposition to the plan of continental warfare, in which he was joined by Mr. Legge. In consequence of his refusal to allow a sum of money not exceeding 100,000*l.* for the german war, the duke of Cumberland declined the command of the army unless Mr. Pitt was removed : he was accordingly dismissed on the 5th of April, together with lord Temple and Mr. Legge. The king made several ineffectual attempts to form new arrangements ; and the administration would have experienced the same fluctuation as it had undergone since the death of Mr. Pelham, had not a coalition fortunately taken place between Leicester-house, the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pitt, and the Tories. This combination was too strong to be resisted, and the king, notwithstanding his repugnance to acquiesce with the dictates of the new court, was compelled to accept a new administration, formed by the union of all parties.

In the commencement of July 1757, the administration was established on this broad basis ; the duke of Newcastle was again placed at the head of the treasury, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge resumed their respective posts, and lord Temple and Mr. Pitt’s other friends came into office. At the repeated refusal of lord Hardwicke to occupy his former station, Sir Robert Henley, an adherent of Leicester-house, had the Great Seal, and Mr. Fox accepted the subordinate place of paymaster of the forces.

From

From this period commenced that brilliant æra, justly called Mr. Pitt's administration, in which he became the soul of the british counsels, conciliated the good-will of the king, subdued the official jealousy of Newcastle, infused a new spirit into the nation, and curbed the united efforts of the house of Bourbon.

But lord Walpole did not live to witness this brilliant period ; he had been long afflicted with the stone, the symptoms of which first made their appearance in 1729, and, returning occasionally, increased in 1747, and the subsequent years, to so violent a degree that he was at times confined to his bed or his couch. He at length appeared to be relieved by the use of soap and lime water, recently recommended by Dr. Whyt, and thought his cure so fully established, that in 1750 he sent an account of his case to the Royal Society, of which he was a member *. From this period he experienced only slight returns of his dreadful complaint, which were removed by proper precautions ; and in the beginning of the winter of 1756 he had a healthful appearance, enjoyed a good appetite, and a high flow of spirits. But the disorder was only palliated ; for, in January 1757, he was attacked by a lingering fever, followed by an excruciating fit of the stone, which he bore with uncommon patience and resignation. He preserved his understanding until a few days before his decease, when the laudanum, prescribed to assuage the pain, affected his head ; but, on the approach of death, his senses gradually returned, he recovered his wonted serenity of mind, ordered his body to be opened, and employed his last moments in lamenting the state of his country †. He expired on the 5th of February, in the 79th year of his age, and was interred, by his own desire, in the chancel of the parish-church of Wickmere, near Wollerton.

No character was ever more wantonly misrepresented by the malignance of party than that of lord Walpole. As he was the brother of a minister who so long directed the helm of government, and had so considerable

* See Lord Walpole's Case, Philosophical Transactions, and Gentleman's Magazine for 1758, p. 429.

† Bishop Keene to Mr. Etough, London, Feb. 17, 1757. "You know how sensible I must be of the loss of our great and good

friend, which filled up the measure of our misfortunes. For his zeal towards the public, and his earnest solicitude for the interest of his friends, he has left no equal. The whole of his last moments were taken up in lamenting bitterly the state of this poor country."

able a share in the conduct of foreign affairs, he partook of the obloquy heaped on Sir Robert Walpole in the numerous party-pamphlets and periodical papers which deluged the public during his administration. Smollett, blindly adopting the malevolence of his opponents, described him, "as employed, in despite of nature, in different negotiations; as blunt, awkward and slovenly; an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address." But the continuator of Tindal has done justice to his abilities and character*; and the late earl of Hardwicke, who cannot be suspected of interested flattery, has paid a just tribute of applause to his memory:

' Mr. Robinson (afterwards lord Grantham) was secretary to Mr. Walpole, ambassador in France. The annals of this country will record the abilities of both; and the editor, with gratitude, remembers the friendship and confidence with which they indulged him. Mr. Walpole had the greatest weight with cardinal Fleury, till Monsieur Chauvelin gained the ascendant over him, and then the former desired to be recalled from his station. His dispatches (were they published) would do credit to his unwearied zeal, industry and capacity. He was a great master of the commercial and political interests of this country; he was deservedly raised to the peerage in 1756, and died soon after. It was the fashion of the opposition of this time, to say, that he was the dupe of cardinal Fleury; his correspondence would shew, no man was ever less so. He negotiated with firmness and address; and, with the love of peace, which was the system of his brother, Sir Robert, he never lost sight of that great object, keeping up the sources of national strength and wealth. One of the most cordial leave-takings, which any public minister ever had, was that which he exchanged with the states-general in 1739, on presenting his letters of recall †.'

It is hoped that this observation of so able a judge of political talents will be proved and justified by these Memoirs; and that lord Walpole will be vindicated from the unjust obloquy heaped upon his person and abilities.

Lord Walpole, in his person, was below the middle size; he did not possess the graces recommended by lord Chesterfield as the essential requisites

* Tindal, vol. 20, p. 205.

† Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 2, p. 631.

quisites of a fine gentleman ; and his manners were plain and unassuming. Notwithstanding his long residence abroad, he was careless in his dress ; though witty, he was often boisterous in conversation, and his speech was tinctured with the provincial accent of Norfolk. But these trifling defects, which the prejudices of party highly exaggerated, and which rendered his personal appearance unprepossessing, he was, himself, the first to ridicule. He was frequently heard to say, that he never learnt to dance, that he did not pique himself on making a bow, and that he had taught himself french.

He was by nature choleric and impetuous ; a foible which he acknowledges in a letter to his brother : “ You know my mother used to say that I was the most passionate, but not the most positive child she ever had.” He corrected, however, this defect so prejudicial to an ambassador ; no one ever behaved with more coolness and address in adapting himself to circumstances, and in consulting the characters and prejudices of those with whom he negotiated. Notwithstanding his natural vivacity, he was extremely placable, and easily appeased. He behaved to those who had reviled his brother’s administration, and derided his own talents and person, with unvaried candour and affability ; and no instance occurs of his personal enmity to the most violent of his former opponents.

In conversation he was candid and unassuming ; and communicated the inexhaustible fund of matter, with which his mind was stored, with an ease and vivacity * which arrested attention. In the latter part of his life he fondly expatiated on past transactions, removed the prejudices of many who had been deluded by the misrepresentations of party, and induced several of his former opponents candidly to confess their errors.

With regard to his moral conduct, he was sincere in his belief of christianity, and zealous and constant in performing the duties of religion. His private character was irreproachable ; he was a tender husband, an affectionate

* Bishop Keene, in a letter to Mr. Etough, says, “ Old Horace dined with me the other day ; he was uncommonly communicative and agreeable.” The late much regretted lord Sydney frequently expatiated on lord Walpole’s

spirited and interesting flow of conversation ; Mr. Cresset Pelham also recollects, with pleasure, the satisfaction and information which he derived from his intercourse with lord Walpole.

affectionate father, a zealous friend, and a good master ; he was particularly careful in superintending the education of his children, and had the satisfaction of seeing his cares repaid by their good conduct.

He maintained an unimpeached character for truth and integrity, as well in his public as in his private capacity. He gave a striking proof of his invariable attachment to his word, by refusing to sign the triple alliance between the Emperor, Great Britain and France ; because he had solemnly assured the States, that no treaty should be concluded with France without their participation *. This attachment to truth, which has been too often supposed an incumbrance to ministers in foreign transactions, established his credit, and contributed to his success in many difficult negotiations. He was equally trusted by the sagacious Fleury, the cautious Heinsius, and the irritable Slingelandt.

He was by nature and habit, arising from the original smallness of his fortune, and from the necessity of providing for a numerous family, strictly economical ; yet he was liberal in rewarding services, and magnificent whenever the dignity of his station required. During his embassies he acted with a laudable spirit, which few ambassadors have imitated ; even in his absence a regular table was maintained, and the same establishment (except in his equipages) kept up as when he was present. He was accustomed to say, that the best intelligence is obtained by the convivial intercourse of a good table ; and was anxious to give the same opportunities to his secretary.

He was always an early riser, and usually finished his dispatches, and transacted his business, before the hour of dinner, unless he was pressed by urgent affairs. Being fond of society, and of a convivial temper, though strictly sober in his habits, he usually relaxed his attention after dinner, and passed a cheerful evening in domestic enjoyments or mixed society.

During the whole administration of his brother, he was not only assiduous in fulfilling the drudgery of his own official departments, but had a share in directing every negotiation, and superintended the whole system of foreign affairs. Even after his retirement from office, he spontaneously submitted his thoughts to the king or ministry ; and, on account of his extensive knowledge in political affairs, he was constantly consulted,
and

* See page 13.

and drew up memorials, abstracts of treaties, and other diplomatic papers. Although many of these documents were destroyed by himself, and others unavoidably lost; yet those which remain are so numerous as to excite astonishment at his incredible perseverance.

Lord Walpole also gave to the public several pamphlets, which are enumerated in the note*; and it may be truly said, that few treatises of importance issued from the press, on the side of the ministry with whom he acted, which were not submitted to his inspection, or corrected and improved by his hand.

During the time of his embassies, and when almost the whole affairs of Europe passed through his hands, Lord Walpole was no less employed at home. He constantly spent the summer and autumn at his post, and returned to England just before the meeting of parliament; he was always consulted by his brother, and often by the king, on the current affairs,

* It is difficult to give a complete list of lord Walpole's works, as all his pamphlets were published without his name, and as the list given by his nephew, the late earl of Orford, is extremely defective and erroneous. Although his political publications must have been extremely numerous, yet the following are the only works which I can ascertain to be his. I have given, under the title of those which are doubtful, the evidence on which I ground my opinion.

Considerations on the Present State of Affairs in Europe, and particularly with regard to the Number of Forces in the Pay of Great Britain. London, 1780.

—The title-page of a copy of this pamphlet, at Wolterton, is inscribed, in Mr. Walpole's hand-writing, "by H. W."

The Grand Question, Whether War or No War with Spain impartially considered, in Defence of the present Measures, against those that delight in War.

—I find a copy of this pamphlet at Wolterton, with a blank for the publisher's name.

The Convention vindicated from the Misrepresentations of the Enemies of our Peace. 1788.
—I find a copy of this pamphlet likewise without the publisher's name, and with numerous corrections for the press, in Mr. Walpole's hand.

The Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued; in answer to a pamphlet entitled, The Case of the Hanover Forces impartially and freely examined. Part I.

Complaints of the Manufacturers relating to the Abuses in marking the Sheep and winding the Wool, stated and impartially considered, in a Letter to the Marquis of Rockingham. 1752. Printed in the Gentleman's Magazine.
—The MS. of this pamphlet is among the Walpole Papers, in Mr. Walpole's hand-writing; with a Letter from the Solicitor General, Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, dated August 4, 1752, to whom he submitted it.

Answer to the Latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History; in a Series of Letters to a Noble Lord. London, 1763.

affairs, and took an active share in those debates which related to foreign transactions.

Lord Walpole was intimately acquainted with the history both of ancient and modern times, and his political knowledge was accurate and comprehensive; being the result of sagacious observation, improved by long practice in momentous business.

He paid great attention to the trade and manufactures of his country, and particularly to those which Great Britain carried on with the American Colonies, and which the place of auditor of the foreign plantations rendered, according to his own expression, “no less an object of duty than of information.” The treatises which he published, and many which he left in manuscript, prove his minute and extensive knowledge of those subjects. There is scarcely an article of trade, commerce and manufacture, both native and foreign, on which documents are not found among his papers, interspersed with occasional remarks in his own hand-writing. These remarks shew great liberality of sentiment, and the most extensive views with respect to the freedom of trade, the abolition of monopolies, and the prevention of smuggling. His acquaintance with these subjects was so well known and appreciated, that, not only during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, but even in subsequent periods, he was consulted, and had the principal share in preparing many acts of parliament relating to the increase of trade, or the improvement of manufactures.

From the time of his brother's resignation, till his own death, he neither desired nor courted any official employment. During this period he acted a part which every man of moderation and integrity will admire and imitate. Instead of going into petulant opposition, or publicly combating the measures of government, he thought it his duty openly to support them, whenever they deserved approbation. When he differed from the king and ministers in essential points, he always privately delivered his opinion, either in person, or by letter. Whenever he was convinced that government was pursuing weak or improper measures, he gave his sentiments with respect and firmness, and was not discouraged by observing that his advice was not acceptable. His private correspondence, in this publication, displays many instances in which his frankness and per-

severance offended the king and the ministers, and drew on himself the imputation of officiousness.

Lord Walpole understood and wrote French with great fluency and propriety, and spoke it with equal facility, though with a foreign accent. Cardinal Fleury, alluding to his pronunciation, used to say of him, “ Il est diablement eloquent avec son mauvais françois.” His knowledge of classical literature was very considerable, and formed a great fund of amusement during his retirement in the country, and in the latter period of his life. In his letters to his friends he often dwells with peculiar pleasure on the writings of antiquity, and proves his knowledge and taste by frequent and apposite quotations. He maintained a constant intercourse with men of letters, both native and foreign. Pope presented him with a copy of his works, which is still preserved in the library at Wolterton, as a mark of gratitude for obtaining from cardinal Fleury a benefice for his friend the abbé Southcote; and he maintained an epistolary correspondence with Maittaire, the learned author of the *Annales Typographici*, and editor of *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. Several of Maittaire’s letters, both in latin and english, are preserved in the collection at Wolterton; and I shall subjoin one, with the answer of Mr Walpole, which will shew his liberality, and the gratitude of Maittaire :

Mr. Maittaire to Mr. Walpole.

“ Hon. Sir, London, Aug. 16, 1742. King-street, Bloomsbury-square.

“ Though I have not had an opportunity of paying my respects to you since the death of my very worthy and good friend Sir Richard Ellyss, yet I have retained, and I shall ever retain, a deep sense of those favours which, through his recommendation, you was pleased to bestow on me. I shall never forget the great and generous encouragement you gave to the poor product of an old man’s leisure hours and private diversion; I have taken care to acknowledge it in print: but I would most gladly and readily embrace an occasion of giving you some real token of my gratitude. I have left at your house in town three copies of my *Senilia*, two for yourself, and one for your son; for which you have subscribed and paid. As for those forty, which are likewise your’s, upon the account of the large present I received from you by the hands of Sir Richard, I give
you



W. Neardiner del.

Pub. Feb 1 1802 by the Rev. W. Coxe London.

E. Harding Sc.

Your most affectionate Wife
H. M. Walpole

MARY MAGDALEN WIFE of HORATIO LORD WALPOLE

From an Original in the Collection of Lord Walpole

you my word, that they shall be laid by and kept, and none shall be any where disposed of, but by your order to him, who begs leave to subscribe himself, &c.”

Mr. Walpole in Answer.

“ Dear Sir,

Wolterton, Sept. 11, 1742.

“ My absence from home, in waiting upon my friends on the other side of the country, was the reason why I did not acknowledge your favour of the 16th past sooner, and return you my thanks for your having left at my house in town two copies of your *Senilia* for me, and one for my son ; I have sent for one of them, which I don't doubt but that I shall read with great pleasure in my agreeable retirement : as to the other forty, which are kept for my disposal on account of the trifle you received from me, I made you that compliment purely as a small token of my grateful sense of the honour you did me in taking notice of what I had sportingly addressed to our late good friend Sir Richard Ellyss ; and as I expected nothing but your kind acceptance, beg you will dispose of those copies as you shall think proper yourself, which will be an additional obligation to him who is, with the greatest consideration and esteem, &c.”

I find also an Alcaic ode, in imitation of Horace's ode to Pollio * ; and another in Endecasyllabic verse, in which Maittaire † acknowledges the benefit of Mr. Walpole's assistance in correcting and polishing his verses.

Lord Walpole espoused, in 1720, Mary Magdalen, daughter and co-heiress of Peter Lombard, esq. of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, with whom he obtained a considerable fortune, which rendered him independent, and, in addition to his official emoluments, furnished a handsome settlement for his children. She survived her husband twenty-six years ; she lost her sight towards the latter period of her life, a misfortune which she bore with extreme serenity, and died at his house in the Cockpit, on the 9th of March 1783, aged 88.

Lord Walpole left by this lady four sons and three daughters, and was succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest son Horatio, the present lord Walpole of Wolterton, who, on the death of the late earl of Orford in 1797, became baron Walpole of Walpole.

The

* Liber II. Ode I.

† Maittaire died in 1749, aged 79.

The family estate of Wolterton was purchased by lord Walpole soon after his marriage, and consisted of a small mansion, with landed property of not more than 500*l.* a year, which he afterwards considerably increased by purchase. The house being burnt during his embassy, he rebuilt it under the direction of Ripley, who had been employed at Houghton by his brother, and had erected the Admiralty. According to the opinion of the noble author of the *Anecdotes of Painting*, it is one of the best houses of the size in England; and Sir Robert Walpole expressed his regret that he had constructed a larger mansion at Houghton. Lord Walpole was much attached to this spot, and in a letter to his brother, written after a visit to Houghton and Rainham, he says, “When I came home, my little place, after the sight of two such noble palaces, looked, as what is mine should look, like an humble but decent cottage, with this satisfaction, if I have not forgot all my greek,

οικος φιλος οικος αριστος.”*

* Nearly equivalent to the English proverb, “Our own home is the best home.”

A TABLE

Of the Family and Descendants of HORATIO, first Lord WALPOLE.

Sir EDWARD WALPOLE = SUSAN,
died 1667. See the Table of | Daughter of Robert Crane.
his ancestors in the Memoirs |
of Sir Robert Walpole.

ROBERT = MARY,
Born 1650. | Daughter of Sir Jeffery Burwell.
HORATIO.
Married Lady Anne Osborn,
daughter of Thomas, duke of
Leeds, and widow of T. Coke,
of Holkham.

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, | HORATIO = MARY MAGDALEN,
Earl of Orford, born 1676, | Daughter of Peter Lom-
died 1745. See Table of his | bard, esq. of Burnham
descendants in the Memoirs | Thorpe, Norfolk, died
of Sir R. Walpole. 1756, died 1757.

DOROTHY.
Born 1686; died 1726.
Second wife of Charles,
second viscount Towns-
ton, Norfolk.

MARY.

GALFRIDUS.

Born 1673; married Sir
Charles Turner, bart. of
Warham, Norfolk*.

Born 1683. Died 1726.

Born 1678, created Baron
Walpole, of Wolterton,
1757, and as Baron Wal-
pole, of Walpole, 1797.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

HORATIO.
Succeeded as Baron Wal-
pole, of Wolterton, in
1757, and as Baron Wal-
pole, of Walpole, 1797.

MARY.
Died 1766. Married M.
Suckling, esq. son of the
Rev. Dr. Suckling, by
Mary, daughter of Sir C.
Turner.

ROBERT.
See the next Table.

RICHARD.
See the next Table.

THOMAS.
See the next Table.

GEORGE.
See the next Table.

KATHERINE.
See the next Table.

SOPHIA,
Daughter of C. Church-
ill, esq. Died 1797.

HARRIET.
See the next Table.

GEORGIANA.
See the next Table.

SOPHIA ANNE.
See the next Table.

KATHERINE.
See the next Table.

See the next Table.

THOMAS HUSSEY, esq.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

See the next Table.

HORATIO. WILLIAM. JOHN. CHARLOTTE. MARIA. HARRIET. GEORGIANA. SOPHIA ANNE. KATHERINE. EDWARD THOMAS. MARY. ISABELLA ANNE.

* From this branch of the Walpole family is descended Horatio viscount and baron Nelson, whose naval services require no eulogium. He received the name of Horatio from Lord Walpole, who was his godfather. His father, the Rev. Edmund Nelson, rector of Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, married Catherine, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Suckling, by Anne, daughter of Sir Charles Turner. In failure of male issue, the barony of Nelson is entailed on his father, the Rev. Edmund Nelson, his brother the Rev. William Nelson, rector of Hillsborough, and on his two sisters.

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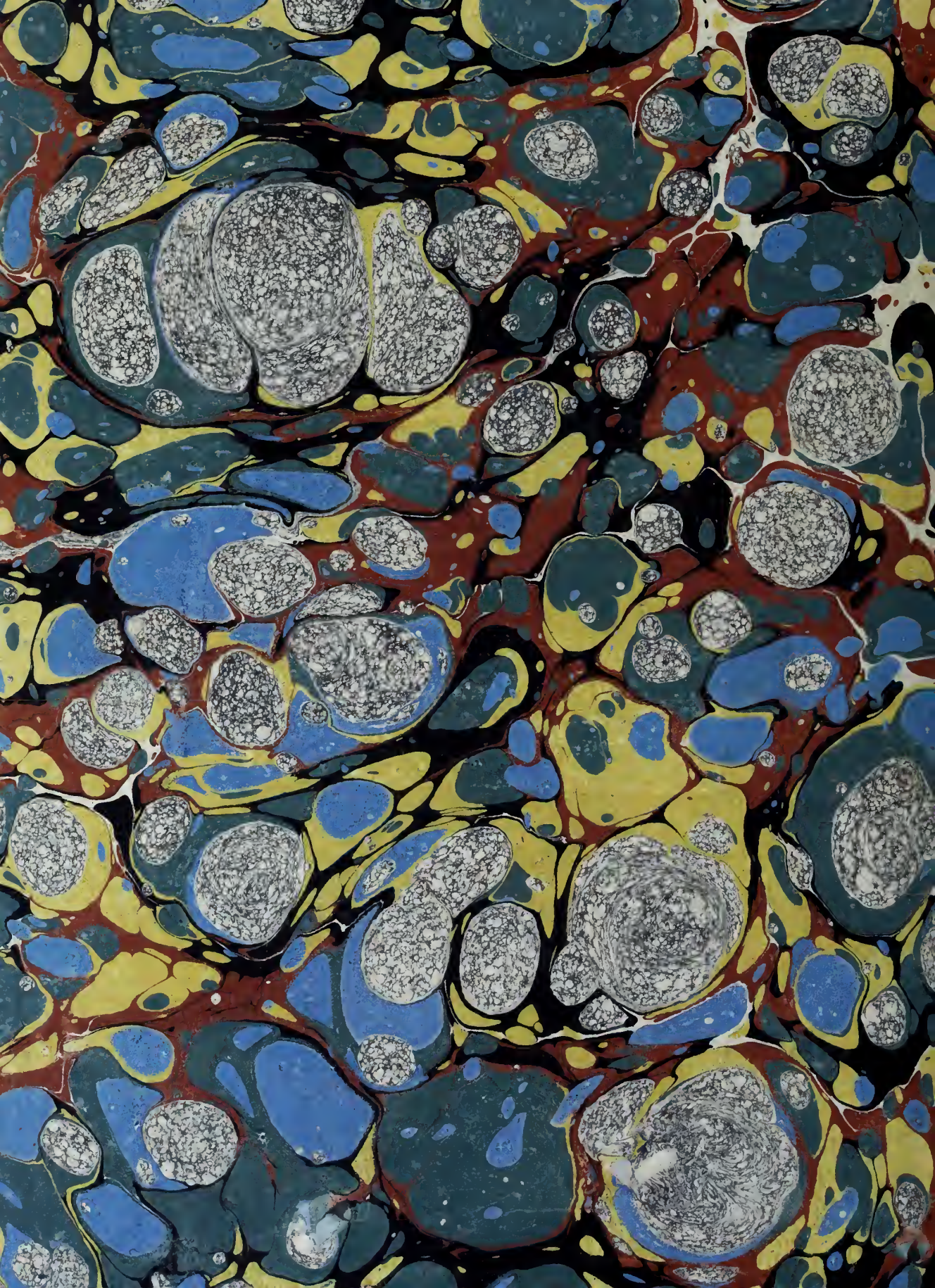
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